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# China Report

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No. 10, 16 May 1984

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31 July 1984

## CHINA REPORT

## RED FLAG

No. 10, 16 May 1984

Translation of the semimonthly theoretical journal of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China published in Beijing.

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HAVE A CLEAR UNDERSTANDING OF THE INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC SITUATION, USHER  
IN THE NEW TECHNICAL REVOLUTION

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 10, 16 May 84 pp 2-5

[Article by Huan Xiang [3160 6763]]

[Text] When we probe ways to usher in the challenge of the new technical revolution, we must have a clear understanding of the development of the international economic situation and the trend of scientific and technical development, in addition to understanding profoundly the national situation in economic and scientific and technical development.

At present, the economy of the Western world is in the course of recovery, though it is unstable, weak, and uneven, both among various countries and various departments. From early 1983 to this moment, the economy has recovered for more than a year and is expected to continue to recover this year. However, this is just a temporary recovery.

The economy of the West presently faces the following advantages:

1. Inflation has been kept under control. In 1983, the inflation rate in the United States has been reduced to 3.4 percent. In the first quarter this year, the inflation rate has risen a little bit to above 5 percent. Judging from the policy of the Western countries, however, their keynote in the future will remain to be the reduction of inflation.
2. The oil price has become stable. Various countries have adopted various measures to save energy and, in the meantime, have scored some successes in research for alternative energy sources and new sources of energy, in addition to striving to tap the potential of their countries' energy resources. Therefore, the oil price may fluctuate a little for some time to come, but the range of price increases will not be great.
3. The arms trade will continue to develop. This is an important factor for promoting the economic development of the Western countries, as well as an important source of revenue for monopolizing capital and making a fortune. These countries rely on the export of arms to compensate for part of their unfavorable balance.

All of these factors are favorable to the Western developed countries in maintaining the economic recovery. In the meantime, there are also some unfavorable factors:

1. The inherent contradictions of capitalism, that is, the contradictions between socialization and private ownership of production, are insolvable. Therefore, they cannot avoid cyclical economic development.
2. The problem of unemployment is insolvable. These countries' high unemployment rates, which are mainly due to the periodic crises and recessions as a result of the basic contradictions of capitalism, are insolvable under the capitalist system. Regarding the thinking of some people who believe that the technical revolution will bring about mass unemployment, it is not the case judging by the situation in the United States, Britain, and other countries. On the one hand, the new technical revolution excludes some workers from the traditional industries when they reduce and switch to new ones, causing structural unemployment; and on the other, it creates new opportunities for employment. In the United States, the unemployment rate is high in car assembling and iron and steel cities, but the area from San Francisco to Los Angeles, as well as parts of the south have a large number of job vacancies.
3. The development of protectionism.
4. The developing countries are heavily in debt, which has presently reached the level of \$800 billion. It is possible that the amount of debt will soon break through the level of \$1,000 billion. Eventually, most of the debt will be shouldered by the Western banks.
5. High interest rates which are caused by the huge amount of financial deficits. The nominal interest rate of the United States reached above 20 percent at its peak, and later declined to 11 percent. But the problem is that the inflation rate also reduced. Hence, the actual interest rate remains very high, presently about 7.5 percent. According to analyses in Eastern journals, the interest rate will probably rise further.
6. The currency value is unstable.
7. The profit margin of investment is too low to stimulate the enthusiasm of investors. According to reports earlier this year, the profit margin of U.S. companies has risen a little, but is still unable to stimulate enterprises to carry out large-scale investment.

Based on the above analysis, it is estimated that the economic growth of the Western countries from now until the late 1980's will be low-key and slow. There will be no sharp fall in growth nor will it have such a large-scale "prosperity" as it had in the 1950's and 1960's, though there may be the possibility of small-scale "prosperity."

In summary, the fixed asset investment of the Western countries in the next 10-odd years will have difficulties in reaching the climax, even more difficult will be the replacement of machinery. These countries will take

a slow pace in reforming present technology for fear of disputes between employers and employees. The inherent contradictions of capitalism cause the new technical revolution to develop in two trends: On the one hand, commercial competition, particularly the arms race, pushes forward the development of science and technology; and on the other, the capitalist system hinders the popularization of science and technology. And the latter trend is much more powerful than the former one. This has hindered the comprehensive application of science and technology, and has made it slowly form a large-scale market. Therefore, in the next 10-odd years, the buyers' market will remain to be the dominant one, which provides us some favorable conditions.

Facing the present international economic situation and the forthcoming new technical revolution, we should take this opportunity to try hard to catch up with others. Under the leadership of the central authorities, we should pool the wisdom of the masses, put forward practical and feasible plans, and logically and rationally catch up with the advanced industrial and agricultural production standards of the world. We should not act over-cautiously and with little initiative, otherwise we will always fall behind others. Comrades of the central leadership have recently put forward that we must try to come up to or approach the level of developed countries in the next 30 to 50 years. This is absolutely correct and we can achieve this.

Under the present world situation, we must have a clear understanding that:

--At present, the practice of exploiting others by means of science and technology has become a means of developed capitalist countries for reaping fat profits from the Third World countries. Historically, imperialists plundered and exploited the people of the colonial countries mainly by acting beyond economic means and even to such an extent that they did so by direct military occupation. After the end of World War II, the imperialists could not but give these colonial countries political independence under the powerful pounding of national liberation movements. However, they protected their own interests by adopting new colonialist means. This was mainly achieved through unequal exchanges and by lending money at usurious rates. Now, science and technology have already become important means in this respect. If our scientific and technological level fails to catch up with the world's advanced level throughout the course, we shall suffer most.

--Many countries around us are reorganizing their economic structure, importing new technology, and establishing new and technology-intensive industries. If we do not do all we can to catch up with them, we shall probably fall behind them in the Asia-Pacific region in this respect.

Therefore, we put forward the practice of "catching up with others" just because we proceed from the conditions of our country as well as the requirements of development. Of course, when we say to "catch up with others," we do not mean to act in the same way as we did in the "Great Leap Forward," in which we neglected science and general knowledge, rashly conducted research, and acted blindly to "catch up with others." Instead,

we must act systematically, logically, in a planned way, and with leadership and reason.

In order to catch up with others, we must also thoroughly understand the situation of scientific and technical development in various countries throughout the world.

The United States and Japan stand in the forefront of the new technical revolution. Both of them have strong points and weak points. Generally speaking, the U.S. standard of basic scientific research, military technology, and comprehensive application is higher than that of Japan. On the other hand, however, the U.S. level of application in actual production is inferior to that of Japan, for example, in the application of science and technology to the areas of computer hardware, robots, and civil industries. At present, the advantage of Japan's competitiveness is mainly in the area of actual application.

The characteristic of Western Europe is: Since the end of World War II, the United States has ranked first in the world in terms of the number of scientific theses published, while Western Europe has ranked second. Since the thought of many U.S. theses comes from Western Europe, we must not neglect the basic scientific research in Western Europe. But the weak point of Western Europe is that its popularization of technology and the integration of production and research are inferior to that of the United States. Also, it takes a rather conservative attitude toward the mass production of new products. As Western Europe imports in large quantity electronic components and computers from the United States and Japan, the development of its national and regional computer industry is consequently affected. Now, some Western countries have formulated plans for developing their own electronics industry.

In the 1950's, the Soviet Union attached no importance to the development of science and technology, particularly computers. In the early 1960's, it even treated and criticized information theory as a capitalist thing. It was not until the mid-1970's, when the Soviet Union realized the development in the United States in this respect, that it began to try to catch up with the United States and formulated its policy which gave priority to the development of new technology, particularly computer technology. At present, the Western countries attach great importance to development in the Soviet Union, and hold that the Soviet Union presently has established an advanced, comprehensive computer system which focuses on complete sets, both minicomputers and large computers. These countries also hold that the Soviet Union pays attention to the automation of production, and has made remarkable achievements in applying computers to production, particularly war production. However, the main problems in the Soviet Union in this respect are: the uneven balance between military use and civil use; paying attention to the development of technology in large enterprises while neglecting technical reform in medium and small enterprises and in light industry; having very backward communications and services; and that the popularization of microelectronic technology is affected by the limited variety and high cost of microelectronic products.

Among the Third World countries, India has had rather rapid development in the areas of industry and science and technology. As India pays attention to supporting national industry, it tried its best to produce whatever it can and the number of scientists and technicians ranks third in the world. In recent years, India has attached great importance to the study and development of new technology. Particularly, it has put forward long-term plans for especially developing computers.

Through analysis and comparison, we can then have a rather clear picture of how should we work hard to achieve the goal.

At present, what is the general goal for us to catch up with others? Generally speaking, it is to quadruple the gross annual industrial and agricultural output value by the turn of this century, and to increase the per-capita GNP to about \$800-\$1,000. Also, our scientific and technical level should reach that of the economically developed countries in the 1970's and early 1980's, and should reach the world's advanced level at that time in some areas. Specifically speaking, we must: 1) In the next 10-odd years, reequip and modernize by stages and in groups the new technology used by our principal enterprises; 2) in the next decades, establish a couple of new industrial bases that combine scientific research, production, and education, so as to give impetus to research and development in science and technology, the manufacturing of products, the fostering of qualified personnel, and research in basic sciences; 3) through the application of new technology, further socialist production, provide abundant goods and materials, and diversify, standardize, and improve the quality of products, so as to improve the living standard of people and form a developed and active internal market; 4) through the application of new technology, produce a batch of "fist" products which possess international competitiveness and high additional value, so that China's export commodities are of high quality, favorably priced, and marketable in overseas markets; 5) through the application of new technology, accelerate the pace of modernizing our national defense.

How do we catch up with others? I think we should consider the following points:

First, we must formulate the policy of giving priority to development and supporting the key points. We must, through thorough investigation and research, greatly develop the most promising advanced industries with focus on key points. We must first develop the new industries, such as microelectronics, biological engineering, and optical communications. This is the key to giving impetus to accelerate the reform and development of other industries. Once we first lay a good foundation in the area of microelectronic industry and grasp "an ox by the halter," we shall have favorable conditions in other areas for "catching up with others," and have the foundation for readjusting and reforming the traditional industries as well as innovations in the communications industry. We have foundations in the area of biological engineering research. This science is of particular importance for us, especially in terms of agriculture. Hence, it should also be listed as one of the key points for "catching up

with others." At the same time, we must develop basic industries and transport industry, particularly energy industry. We must also develop labor-intensive industry. For example, for a rather long time in the foreseeable future, the textile industry will remain one of China's main foreign exchange sources. We may spend the foreign exchange earned by the industry to purchase technology. Also, we must reform this traditional industry itself. We must consider once again the structure of products, and gradually reduce products which have a low added value.

Second, we must integrate the development of new technology with the current technical reform and innovation of enterprises. For example, we must integrate the development of microelectronic technology with the technical reform of existing enterprises, so that they can save energy, natural resources, and space; can improve the quality of products; reduce production costs; and can meet the requirement of commodity replacement in the international market.

Third, we must be eager to meet the needs of "vanguards," such as the communications industry, in developing computer technology. If we want to popularize computers throughout the country and to give play to its proper role, we must modernize the present communications systems (such as cable, telephone, and telex). Furthermore, no industry can develop without machinery. Once we have automated the machinery, we can greatly improve efficiency. The integration between microelectronic technology and mechanical industry is very important, as it helps us to improve both the quality and quantity of various light and heavy industrial products.

Fourth, we should reform the management system comprehensively.

We must solve the problem of having an inexplicit division of labor and having various localities and departments "tearing apart" the situation. Also, we must break away from the practice of being owned by a department which actually exists. We should adopt the method of integrating large companies and factories at the upper level, while expanding the decision-making power of medium- and small-sized enterprises at the lower level. We must encourage individuals and collectives to develop both software and hardware computer products. I suggest that banks should set up a "risk fund" to subsidize experiments conducted by small factories and individuals, and to help them take the risk of failure in experiments. Of course, each of the experiment's ideas and plans must be approved beforehand by the authoritative technical departments at the proper level. In addition, we can even stipulate the time for tax exemption. Of course, we cannot achieve overnight the goal of breaking away from the actual practice of being owned by a department. Instead, we must do so gradually by stages. We may, in the first stage, carry out loosely organized integration and coordination and, in the second stage, exercise centralized leadership.

Fifth, we must first select within our country areas where the economy and science and technology are rather developed, and where the basic facilities are relatively better. Then, we can gradually establish one or two new technical key points which integrate education, research, development, design, and production with internal and overseas marketing.

The emergence of a "scientific and technical belt" in the world is a new phenomenon to which we should pay close attention. The center of the "scientific and technical belt" in the United States is the Silicon Valley, surrounded by many of the most advanced technical research institutions and nearby factories, space facilities, missile bases, as well as a sound transportation system. At present, Japan is designing a scientific and technical center which will have both the most advanced technical industries and corresponding research institutes and universities, and which will be surrounded by highways, railways, and airways. Also, Britain is developing a high-class industrial and new technical region in Scotland. This is a kind of high-class, comprehensive scientific and technical cluster brought about by the new technical revolution. In addition, the FRG, France and Belgium are also prepared to build their comprehensive, technical clusters. We may draw lessons from them in this respect.

Sixth, we should import both technology and foreign investment. All of us know that other countries will not sell us the most advanced, new technology. However, it is absolutely possible for us to buy technology which is generally as regarded as the advanced one. Nowadays, the pace of replacing advanced technology in the world is very rapid. We should buy advanced and applicable technology which is only a bit out-of-date, but not which is very obsolete.

Seventh, we must solve well the problems in China's scientific and technical contingent, and greatly recommend qualified personnel. Though China has a large number of qualified personnel, we face many problems in employing them and we must rationally solve them in connection with the principles and policies of the CPC Central Committee. We must, in accordance with the requirement of "catching up with others," solve problems in professional readjustment, curriculum, and means of conducting experiments in the area of cultivating qualified personnel. Also, we must solve problems in improving the educational standard of the present contingent of workers, and in training them in and keeping them abreast of technical knowledge.

In short, we must have the spirit of catching up with the others and, through the new technical revolution, promote the rapid development of China's socialist modernizations.

CSO: 4004/79

## A TALK ON THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE FIXED RIGHT OF USE OF GRASSLAND

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 10, 16 May 84 pp 6-9

[Article by Zhou Hui [0719 1920]]

[Text] There are 1.3 billion mu of grassland in the Nei Monggol Autonomous Region. They are not only a fertile production base for animal husbandry, but also an ideal natural green defense in northern China. Administering, using, and constructing the grassland well, and continuing to steadily develop high quality and high yield animal husbandry is a matter of primary importance politically and economically.

Grassland is a regenerative biological resource. As long as we can properly manage, reasonably make use of, and effectively reform and construct the grassland, it will become an inexhaustible resource that will benefit the people and make active contributions in the four modernizations. Otherwise, it will severely obstruct our economy and ecology, or even bring evil upon our descendants.

To effectively deal with the matter concerning grassland, we should: 1) maintain a good ecological environment; and 2) establish a production system for animal husbandry characterized by a consistent high yield. In other words, we should go about things in accordance with the natural law of grassland and the economic law of animal husbandry production. When people are engaged in primitive animal husbandry, they are at the mercy of nature. Ecological equilibrium is passive and the production is backward. Therefore, primitive animal husbandry is undesirable. With the development of society, very often people try to get more from nature. They only pay attention to immediate economic interests at the expense of long-term ecological effects. Although they promote production within a certain period of time, grassland is severely obstructed and ecological equilibrium is severely disrupted. Under such circumstances, people are compelled to make investments 10 to 20 times higher than previous ones and spend a score of years on restoring ecological equilibrium. Such a situation has occurred in the history of developed countries, and is repeating itself in some developing countries. The Nei Monggol region has drawn a profound lesson from this.

From 1947 to 1983, the accumulated number of livestock raised in Nei Monggol was 1.1 billion, providing the state with 70 million meat cattle, 1.5 billion

jin of bristles and wools, and 120 million pieces of hide. Total output value for animal husbandry was more than 10 billion yuan. The development of animal husbandry was rapid and its achievements were remarkable. However, the grassland degenerated constantly and became sandy. During the late 1970's, one-third of the grassland had deteriorated to varying degrees, and about 80 million mu of the grassland became sandy. The output of forage grass yielded from degenerated grassland dropped by about 30 percent in general, and the structure of densely grown grass also changed greatly. The quantity of fine forage decreased, whereas the quantity of inferior forage increased. In the meantime, the quality of meadow considerably dropped. In some areas where the grassland had severely degenerated, there was an increasingly acute contradiction between the increase of livestock and the lack of forage supply. The forage supply was insufficient, and livestock was thus undernourished. Production capacity for animal husbandry and dressing percentage decreased. Thus occurred a vicious circle of the degeneration of both grassland and livestock. Such a change of the grassland directly affected the production of animal husbandry. In the 1950's, there was an ample supply of forage and the number of livestock was limited. Grassland resources were protected in a better way. However, within a short span of 10 years, the number of livestock in the whole region increased by 200 percent, and the average annual increase rate was 11 percent. In the 1960's, grassland began to degenerate and the acreage affected was gradually expanded. Within a period of 10 years, livestock only increased by 17 percent, and the average annual increase rate was 1 percent or so. In the 1970's, the acreage of degenerated and sandy grassland was swiftly expanded. Thus a particular question became one of overall character. Instead of developing, animal husbandry decreased. Facts have shown that the reaction of ecological effects on economic results is unavoidable macroeconomically and microeconomically. This is an objective law governing animal husbandry on grassland.

A vast area of grassland degenerated and became sandy. This was because previously over a long period we only paid attention to livestock but neglected forage and ecological effect. In particular, with regard to the exploitation, use, management, and construction of grassland, the practice of "eating out of the same big pot" prevailed.

During the period of democratic reforms, the party promulgated a policy of "free herding" in the pastoral areas to abolish the age-old privilege of feudal nobility over the grassland. Undoubtedly this was a great emancipation for productive forces. However, in the long 20- to 30-year period of socialist construction, we failed to effectively implement the new policy and responsibility system for the management of grassland. We failed to coordinate responsibility, power, and interests with regard to the exploitation, use, protection, and construction of the grassland. The defects of the old policy of "free herding" and old tradition of "roaming in search of pasture and breeding livestock at the mercy of heaven" brought severe consequences. They mainly manifested themselves in the following:

1. Indiscriminate herding. Due to the fact that the practice of "eating out of the same big pot" prevailed with regard to the use of grassland, the

phenomena of scrambling for herds and forage, as well as indiscriminate herding, were very severe in the areas where water and grass were plenty and the areas bordering various production units. Such blind and arbitrary use of the grassland prevented the implementation of a scientific herding system and herding techniques for a long time, so that forage was unable to multiply or even grow again. Although the degeneration of grassland in some areas was because of the breeding of an excessive number of livestock, exceeding the capacity of the grassland, the prevailing of the practice of "eating out of the same big pot," was, for a long time, a main reason for this.

2. Indiscriminate reclamation. Due to the failure to establish a responsibility system on the grassland, grassland was mistakenly regarded as waste-land and was incorrectly cultivated by some people. During the difficult 3-year period, and the period of "learning from Dazhai," as well as the 10-year catastrophe, three mass campaigns of reclaiming grassland in the Nei Monggol region were launched. In particular, in some areas of sandy soil, the cultivation of 1 mu of grassland meant the destruction of 3 mu. "The grassland was cultivated during the first year, and some grain was produced in the second year. However, in the third year the grassland became sandy waste." This was the direct reason why hundreds of thousands of mu of grassland became sandy land.

3. Indiscriminate occupation. Due to the defect of "eating out of the same big pot," a responsibility system in management of the grassland was not implemented. A number of units from the region and outside the region invented all sorts of names to run various undertakings on the grassland and occupy tens of thousands of mu of land. The undertakings of most of these units were plundering in nature. This severely obstructed the grassland.

4. Indiscriminate digging, denudation, and reckless collection. On the Eerduosi grassland, which has become severely sandy, about 300,000 mu of grassland were obstructed yearly because of the reckless digging of medicinal herbs, in addition to the obstruction of over 1 million mu of grassland due to denudation and the reckless collection of firewood.

5. Due to the defect of "eating out of the same big pot," the masses were reluctant to invest in capital construction on the grassland. Over the past 30 years or so, less than 20 million mu of grassland were developed throughout the region. The construction speed of the grassland was slower than its speed of becoming degenerated and sandy. This objectively encouraged the practice of passive herding and avoiding disaster, or arbitrary herding and fleeing from disaster. The capacity of combating natural disaster in animal husbandry has been weak to date. Facts have shown that as long as the defect of "eating out of the same big pot" has not yet been eliminated, the situation of "breeding livestock at the mercy of heaven" cannot be changed. Therefore, the development of animal husbandry will not have a more reliable material base.

The spring breeze of the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee has blown to the grassland in the northern border of the motherland. Most areas have implemented a responsibility system in production placing emphasis on the assignment of output quotas to individual households. Some areas have sold livestock to herdsmen at reasonable prices so that they become individual households engaged in animal husbandry. All these have effectively overcome egalitarianism, aroused the enthusiasm of herdsmen, promoted the development of production, and created a new situation in the pastoral areas. It is imperative and conforms to the common aspiration of the people to establish and implement a responsibility system in animal husbandry, to encourage the occurrence of the new individual households engaged in animal husbandry, and to solve the long-standing problem of "eating out of the same big pot" on the grassland. We made best use of the situation to again promulgate to the new basic production units the "Regulations for the Administration of Grassland" and to assign the fixed right of use and the duties of administering, making use of, constructing, and protecting the grassland, based on the varieties and quantity of the contracted livestock and in consideration of the future development needs. These new basic production units are the contracted households, specialized households, combined households, and individual laborers. This is another important reform and emancipation of social productive forces following the implementation of the policy of "free herding" during the democratic reforms and the abolishment of the privileges of feudal nobility over the grassland.

The responsibility system in the management of grassland, based on linking the responsibility system in animal husbandry production with the production of individual households, is actually a "double contract system" covering both livestock and grassland. This contract system closely links the management of animal husbandry with the management of grassland so that primary production [di yi xing sheng chan 4574 0001 1940 3932 3934] and secondary production [di er xing sheng chan 4574 0059 1940 3932 3934] become an organic whole. To achieve greater economic results, producers cannot but pay attention to ecological effects. In the final analysis, proceeding from the characteristics of the herdsmen who devote their main efforts to herding, their group management and living scattered, this contract system coordinates the duties, rights, and interests of the management of livestock and forage in a unified way in order to overcome the various defects of the practice of "eating out of the same big pot." While placing our emphasis on the "double contract system," we promote the coexistence and development of various economic forms, encourage the new combined operation, and build new socialist pastoral areas characterized by the flourishing of nationalities and economic prosperity. These are the new characteristics of the new period and are our basic starting point for future animal husbandry production and all work in the pastoral area.

Since last year the work of establishing a responsibility system for the grassland, based on linking the responsibility system in animal husbandry production with individual management and fixing the right for use of the grassland, has been rapidly carried out throughout the region. Those areas and units that have completed the work of establishing a responsibility system have fixed the right of the use of grassland for each and every

production unit, contracted household, and individual household. Their right and operation range should be clearly defined and recognized by all and registered with the higher authorities. The certificates for the use of grassland will be issued by the people's governments of banners and counties concerned. At the same time, it has been announced that the right to use the grassland will not be changed for a long time. This policy has been warmly hailed and supported by the broad masses of herdsmen, and has aroused their enthusiasm for administering, protecting, using, and constructing the grassland. All these have further promoted the reforms of the economic system in the pastoral areas and have developed the newly created situation.

In the areas where the right to use the grassland has been fixed, most units have established their management committee for grassland; worked out regulations for the management of grassland; defined the right and duties of the state, the collective, and individuals; and followed a system for rational use of the grassland. They have adopted forceful measures to deal with the cases of indiscriminate reclamation, occupation, denudation, reckless collection, and arbitrary digging on the grassland in order to protect the grassland's resources.

After the implementation of the "double contract" system for animal husbandry and the administration of grassland, the broad masses of herdsmen have taken an active part in the investment and construction of the grassland. They have reformed the nature and developed the range and quality of production. In Bairin Right Banner, where the right to use the grassland has been fixed, four households made efforts to establish the first herdsmen's settlement [cao ku lun 5430 1655 0243]. After that, contracted households, specialized households, and combined households relied on their efforts to raise funds or secure loans to create an upsurge of construction of the grassland. Within a short period of 1 year or so, the 2,873 households established 227 herdsmen's settlements, covering an area of 87,000 mu, by relying on their efforts. In the past the construction of the grassland was characterized by funds provided by the state, organizational work done by communes and production brigades, and the participation of the masses. Now the state has only rendered support, and the planning work is carried out by peasants. Herdsmen have relied on their efforts to promote construction of the grassland based on a contract system. In the past efforts were only devoted to short-term construction items. At present, herdsmen have paid attention to the projects of harnessing hills, ditches, and shoals; to investment in labor; and to exploitation-related production projects.

Grassland is a main material basis and means of production for animal husbandry. When the grassland has gone, what can the livestock adhere to? When the practice of "eating out of the same big pot" prevailed, although herdsmen took care of the livestock as their "children," they were not able to change the situation to a large extent. Drought and disaster, caused by wind and snow, have always been the main enemies of herdsmen and animal husbandry. According to statistics, from 1952 to 1978 there were, on the average, 2.5 million livestock that died from disasters yearly, and the average death rate was more than 7 percent. Over a long period in the past,

the problems that "more livestock died because of more severe disasters and less livestock died because of less severe disasters" and that "livestock were emaciated in winter and died in spring" remained unsolved. It was impossible to continuously develop animal husbandry production, and there was no solid base for good quality and high yield. With the implementation of the "double contract system" for livestock and grassland, herdsmen have their own decisionmaking power over the management of both livestock and grassland. They have effectively delimited campsites and rationally organized rotation grazing. At the same time, they have opened all avenues for fodder and forage, and have taken active measures to store forage and take precautions against natural disasters. Some households have stored more than 1,000 jin of forage each on the average. Despite similar natural disasters as in the past, the death rate of livestock in a great number of units and contracted households has now dropped to less than 1 percent. In addition, the number of livestock removed from inventory, the commodity rate of livestock, and the increase of herdsmen have continuously increased. This has fully demonstrated the powerful vitality of the new emerging system--the "double contract system."

With the implementation of the "double contract system," the superiority of the social system has been integrated with the enthusiasm of individual households in production so that a small-scale production of individual households can be organically combined with specialized and socialized production. The broad masses of herdsmen have an increasingly urgent need for enhancing economic results and have increasingly strong desires for studying and using sciences. The level of specialized and socialized production and the commodity rate of products have considerably increased. Since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, the output of meat and sheep's wool for the whole region has increased by 45.9 percent and 89 percent respectively. The commodity rate of animal husbandry has increased by approximately 7 percent. The pace of development of commodity production was faster than the pace in the past 20 to 30 years. At present, the number of specialized households engaged in animal husbandry throughout the region has increased to 185,000 throughout the region. There are a number of contracted households each selling 10,000 jin of milk and 1 ton of meat to the state. The superiority of grassland resources was wasted and obstructed in the past, but today contracted and individual households have swiftly turned such superiority into the superiority of commodity production. Instead of engaging in breeding undertakings alone, they have developed a diversified economy and have carried out services before and after production. There are also some specialized households engaged in service trades such as raising stud stock, breeding, epidemic prevention, machinery supply, transportation, production of grass seed, processing of forage and fodder, and so forth. Although these specialized households are at an early stage of development, their number is limited, and their operation has not yet been perfect, they represent the orientation of the development of socialist husbandry at the present stage.

The exploration and practice of the past few years have shown that as long as we comprehensively popularize and fully implement the "double contract system" concerning livestock and grassland, we will be able to lead

herdsmen to free themselves from the seclusion of small producers and the trammels of natural economy, and follow a correct path of socialist animal husbandry suitable for practical conditions in our region. After their right to use the grassland has been fixed, a number of contracted households and individual households have abandoned their previous methods of administration and management, which stuck to accustomed rules. Becoming the masters of their own affairs, they have carried out unprecedented capital construction in production. On the basis of a division of labor, they have developed new cooperation. They have cooperated to buy cars and tractors for transport, build water conservancy projects, install wind-driven generators, and build solar greenhouses and hothouses. Modern industry, science, and technology have begun to take root, blossom, and yield fruit in the pastoral areas. Those hard-working and brave herdsmen have drawn one picture after another of the modernized animal husbandry and the new-type townships. Material civilization has promoted the building of the spiritual civilization. Herdsmen of the new generation have come to the fore.

At present, the vast grassland is full of life and various construction projects have now been growing. However, there are still many problems that we should solve. We are bound to encounter various difficulties on the road of advance. Judging from the present situation in production, we realize that the policies we have been implementing in recent years are correct, and that we have succeeded in developing production and in increasing the commodity rate. However, we should keep a cool head about the fragility of the grazing undertaking and animal husbandry and various unfavorable factors on the grassland, such as strong wind, drifting of sand, lack of water, cold weather, sparse population, poor communications, and more. If we are slightly negligent or blindly optimistic, our production might possibly suffer from new setbacks or even regress. Our work has just begun, and we should do a lot of work to fully implement the "double contract system." It is a new question for study to give play to the guiding role of the state-owned economy and promote the development of the coexistence of various economic forms. The reforms of the economic system of all the pastoral areas should be further deepened and perfected. The problem of the economic system and the system of administration and management not being in accord is still conspicuous in the pastoral areas. It is still a tremendous task to carry out construction on the grassland, enhance our capability to combat natural disasters, and change the situation of "raising livestock at the mercy of heaven." It is not the work of a single day to reform and rejuvenate the tens of millions of mu of degenerated and sandy grassland. We have just started the work of establishing a complete production service system in the fields of production, circulation, distribution, and consumption. It has become an urgent and important problem to promote intellectual investment and exploitation of intellectual resources in the pastoral areas, including the development of culture and education and the popularization of scientific knowledge among herdsmen. We should enhance the quality of leading cadres at various levels as early as possible. Only thus can they grasp the overall situation and master the way to lead the entire economic work. All these have demanded that we further emancipate our minds, boldly carry out exploration, be bold in

carrying out reforms, and advance, despite difficulties along the orientation charted by the CPC Central Committee. We should be modest and prudent, go deep into the realities of life, constantly study the new situation, sum up new experiences, solve new problems, and do everything possible to adapt ourselves to, maintain, and develop the new situation that has been created. In so doing we will be able to speed up the change from traditional animal husbandry to modernized animal husbandry, and the change from the self-sufficient and partially sufficient production into commodity production on a larger scale as fast as possible.

CSO: 4004/78

## CONTRACTED RESPONSIBILITY SYSTEM OF COLLECTIVE ENTERPRISES OF THE SECOND LIGHT INDUSTRY

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[Article by Ji Long [1323 7893]]

[Text] China's collective enterprises, which have developed on the basis of collective transformation of handicraft industries and which mainly produce manufactured goods for daily use, handicraft articles, and small merchandise for daily use, were, like a few other enterprises which are owned by the whole people and which produce such kinds of goods, once subordinated to the system of the second light industrial department. Therefore, in connection with their history, they are generally called enterprises of the second light industry (called the second light industry or second light enterprises for short). By the end of last year, more than half of the collective enterprises of the second light industry had implemented the contracted responsibility system. Such provinces as Henan, Liaoning, Hunan, and Shandong have made headway in the work, totaling about 80 percent of the enterprises. In 1983, the gross output value of the country's collective enterprises of the second light industry increased by 7.66 percent compared with that for the previous year, while profit and tax delivery increased by 10.55 percent, the number of loss-making enterprises reduced by 35.7 percent, and the amount lost reduced by 44.5 percent. The growth rate of their output value and economic results was higher than that of the light industry as a whole during that period. In the first quarter of this year, the collective enterprises of the second light industry throughout the country have further improved their output and economic results. Their gross output value has increased by 10.51 percent compared with the same period last year, while profit and tax delivery has increased by 16.97 percent, of which profit delivery has increased by 19.13 percent. Also, the number of loss-making enterprises has reduced by 31.68 percent and the level of losses has reduced by 41.53 percent. The growth of profit and tax delivery has greatly exceeded that of output value.

An important reason for the collective enterprises of the second light industry making such a remarkable achievement is that they have carried out reform that focuses on the contracted responsibility system in production and management. The system has not only exerted profound influence over the enterprises of the second light industry in various localities, but has also

attracted wide attention from other collective industries in cities and towns, as well as from state-run small enterprises. We should conscientiously sum up our experience, consolidate our achievements, and solve the present problems so as to make the enterprise constantly develop and become increasingly perfect.

The Contracted Responsibility System Is Implemented To Meet the Requirements of the Enlivening of the Collective Enterprises of the Second Light Industry

Since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, some localities have adopted measures to support and enliven enterprises of the second light industry in the course of carrying out the principle of "readjusting, restructuring, consolidating, and improving" and implementing party policies toward the collective economy. These localities have readjusted and consolidated the enterprises of the second light industry, as well as carrying out preliminary reform in some areas. For example, they have replaced centralized accounting and the practice of letting the state assume responsibility for profits or losses among the joint communes with independent enterprise accounting and the practice of assuming sole responsibility for their own profits or losses. They have readjusted the collective enterprises' percentage of profit for retention after tax delivery, and have restored such distribution methods as piecework wages, profit-sharing wages, and bonuses. This preliminary reform has played a promotional role in the development of production. After the 12th CPC National Congress, some localities have, under the inspiration of the rural production responsibility system, implemented the contract system in experimental units in the areas of production and management. They have further carried out reform in business management and distribution methods of the collective enterprises. The results in the experimental units have shown that the contracted responsibility system can bring about immediate effects. Some localities have achieved results within a month. Some enterprises which for a long time in the past found it difficult to continue operations, have quickly taken on a new look after implementing the contract system. Since various localities have promptly summed up the experience of these experimental units, the contracted responsibility system has been quickly popularized in the system of the second light industry.

Various localities have adopted a variety of forms when implementing the contracted responsibility system among collective enterprises of the second light industry. Their forms are mainly:

Enterprises make contracts with the responsible departments at the upper level, mainly on various economic targets, such as output value and profit. Practices among the profitable enterprises include making contracts for profit targets, sharing profits, giving bonuses to anyone who fulfills the target, punishing anyone who fails to fulfill the target, and severely punishing anyone who makes the enterprise suffer losses. Practices implemented by the loss-making enterprises include setting a time limit for turning losses into profits, punishing anyone who fails to meet the time limit, giving bonuses to anyone who has made achievements in turning losses into profits, and retention of all, or the major part, of profits by the

enterprise. Also, some enterprises carry out the practices of making contracts for the "four fixes" (fixing the output value, profits, sales volume, and charges delivered to the state), and of reward and punishment in accordance with a certain proportion, which focuses on profit assessment. Also, they make contracts with the supply and marketing departments for fixing the targets in supply and marketing charges and expenses and profits, and introduce the method of delivering profits to the state in accordance with a certain proportion.

Workshops, teams, groups, retail departments, or individuals in enterprises make contracts with their enterprises. This mainly takes the forms of:

- 1) Making contracts level by level. That is, individuals make contracts with teams and groups, teams and groups make contracts with workshops and retail departments, and workshops and retail departments make contracts with the enterprises. This form is rather popular.
- 2) Making contracts for special projects. For example, the staff or the collective concerned makes a contract with the enterprise for a capital construction project, a scientific research project, or a trial production project of new product.
- 3) Making contracts for supply and marketing. That is, the supply and marketing personnel contract with the enterprise for purchasing or selling a certain amount of raw materials or products, or for the supply of raw materials for production and marketing of the principal products.
- 4) Making collective or individual contracts, even household or specialized household contracts, with the retail departments in some service industries.
- 5) Recruiting qualified personnel and bidding for projects in the case of a few enterprises with serious and long-standing problems and whose supply and marketing activities are very abnormal, so that people who really know their job can make contracts or "form a cabinet," to change the situation within a fixed time, and to turn losses into profits. Generally speaking, all these forms of contract are undertaken with payment linked to output or profit, or with either or both linked to sales volume. On the distribution of earnings, some adopt the method of sharing profits between the upper and lower levels in proportion, or the method of retaining overfulfilled profits, or the method of delivering the contracted amount of profits to the upper level. The practice is versatile, depending on the actual conditions of each trade and unit.

The contracted responsibility system of collective enterprises of the second light industry is carried out together with the implementation of enterprise consolidation and structural reform. When carrying out the contract system, the enterprise attaches great importance to three areas in the implementation of internal consolidation and reform. First, it replaces centralized accounting and the practice of letting the state assume responsibility for its profits or losses with independent accounting and the practice of assuming sole responsibility for their own profits or losses. Some large-scale and highly mechanized enterprises practice unit accounting level by level among their workshops, teams, and groups, and each of them assumes sole responsibility for its own profits or losses. Some multiple-production enterprises which usually mix up different kinds of products, which do not have favorable factors for practicing business management, and which do not make things convenient for the consumer, carry out

independent accounting after classifying their products, and each unit assumes sole responsibility for its own profit or loss. Some service industries, such as processing and maintenance, diversify their business under centralized management and each of them assumes sole responsibility for their own profits or losses, by proceeding from the practice of making things convenient for the masses and enlivening business. Second, the collective enterprises pay their staff according to their work, and implement floating wages. Generally speaking, when implementing the contract system, the enterprises adopt a variety of forms of wage payment which conform to both the characteristics of the enterprises and the principle of paying each according to his work. For example, the forms include floating wages linked to output or profits. Since there is neither a maximum nor a minimum level of wages, this has overcome the tendency of equalitarianism. Third, the enterprises practice democratic management. They replace the system of assigning cadres with the election system. The cadres are elected through democratic elections, and are ready to work either at the top or at the grassroots. They restore the workers' congresses, which are responsible for discussing and making decisions on major issues of the enterprise, such as development planning, production and management, recruitment of and retrenchment of staff, distribution of profits, and awarding and punishing staff members. Furthermore, enterprises in various localities have, in connection with actual conditions, carried out reform in other areas, such as streamlining the organizational structure, reducing the number of staff not engaged in production, encouraging staff to purchase shares of the enterprise under the principle of volunteerism, giving share bonuses and bonuses, distributing interest on funds raised, maintaining close economic relations between the staff and the enterprise, strengthening the economic power of the enterprise, and so forth.

The implementation of the contracted responsibility system among the collective enterprises of the second light industry is an important reform which sums up the experience of cooperative transformation of the handicraft industry in the 1950's, learns from the agricultural system of contracted responsibilities with payment linked to output, and integrates the characteristics of collective industry in cities and towns. Under the guidance of the state plan and focusing on the improvement of economic results, the contracted responsibility system integrates the interests of the state, the collectives and the individual. It implements the enterprise management system of closely linking responsibilities, rights, and interests. It helps us to handle well the relationships between the state and the enterprise, and between the enterprise and staff. After implementing the contracted responsibility system, the ownership system remains unchanged, but not the form of accounting and the relations of internal distribution. It has expanded the decisionmaking power of the collective enterprise in the areas of business management, making profits, and appointment and dismissal at certain levels. It has strengthened the vitality of, pressure on, and motive force of the enterprises, as well as promoting the development of production. The contracted responsibility system is advantageous to giving play to the mass participation of collective economic organizations, to democratic management, to versatile production, and to flexible operation. It conforms to present production standards as well as to people's level of consciousness.

Also, it meets the objective requirement of developing the collective economy. Therefore, it is accepted and supported by the cadres and workers.

#### Results Brought About by the Contracted Responsibility System

From the stage of experimental units to the stage of popularization, the reform work focusing on the contracted responsibility system has shown its thriving vitality all the way through. Judging from the overall situation, the result is fine. It has initially rectified the long-standing malpractice of "eating from the same big pot," which has been under "leftist" influence. It has mobilized the initiative of the enterprises and the staff, and the situation in production as well as the workers' mental attitude have undergone a gratifying change. It is reflected mainly in:

First, the system has sped up the development of production and improved economic results. After the system is implemented, everyone is assigned a target. All of them have to pool their efforts to fulfill the target. Thus, production volume is increased and economic results are generally improved. Henan Province has implemented the reform work quite quickly. In 1983, the output value of the province's second light industry increased by 7.2 percent compared with the previous year, while its sales volume increased by 9.1 percent and its profits increased by 68.9 percent. Also, its number of loss-making enterprises decreased by 56.8 percent. The collective enterprises of the second light industry in some prefectures and cities have generally created a new situation of "six increases and one decrease," in which output value, profits, labor productivity, tax revenue, enterprise accumulation, and workers' wages increase and comparable production costs decrease.

Second, the system has strengthened the staff's sense of responsibility and made them act as masters, in addition to promoting democratic management. To a certain extent, the contracted responsibility system has expanded the enterprises' decisionmaking power, so that they have become relatively independent business units and the working masses can exercise the right of democratic management, participating in the operation and the decision-making processes of the enterprises. "Nobody concerns himself with the status of the enterprise before the implementation, but everyone concerns himself with it after the implementation." Following the implementation of the system level by level, the workers have generally strengthened their sense of responsibility and acted as masters. They have restored and carried forward the fine tradition of concerning themselves with the collective. After the implementation, a new phenomenon of "four more and four fewer" has emerged in many enterprises. That is, more people concern themselves with the collective and manage their financial affairs, and fewer people pursue personal gain at the expense of public interest and the enterprises' destiny. More people come early and stay late, and stand fast at their posts, and fewer people come late and leave early, and do private business in factories. More people actively and intensively master techniques, and fewer people chat and idle about. More people observe discipline and love their factories as their home, and fewer people stir things

up and dispute over trifles. Hence, the mental attitude of the working masses has undergone a great change.

Third, the system has promoted the establishment and perfection of the system of internal economic responsibility in the enterprises, in addition to restoring the tradition of running a factory industriously and thriftily. After the contracted responsibility system is implemented among the enterprises, the practice of letting the state assume responsibility for their profits and losses lost its "backing." Thus, the enterprises cannot but make efforts to strengthen business accounting and tap internal potential. After implementing the system, many enterprises have streamlined the structure of factories, departments, sections, and offices. They have reduced the number of staff who are not engaged in production. The past situation of blindly imitating the state enterprises and having the framework of a large factory in a small one has changed a great deal. Some enterprises have established the accounting system for factories, departments, and workshops (teams and groups). Through the system, they assign various economic targets to lower levels. Also, the enterprises adopt various methods in which each division is responsible for controlling its own funds and expenses, and in which the enterprise settles the internal accounts in terms of money and establishes the awarding and punishment system. Also, the enterprises work out the standards, and rules and regulations for various projects, so that all posts at various levels have their clearly defined economic responsibilities. The establishment of the internal economic responsibility system within the enterprises has strengthened management in such areas as planning, finance, technology, quality, and labor. Also, there have been great changes in production and sequence of work, and the phenomenon of wasting material and financial resources has been remarkably improved.

Fourth, a large number of people who are capable of running a factory has emerged, improving the quality of enterprise leading groups. The contract system and reform have paved the way for selecting those capable and "sensible people" to run the enterprises. Through democratic election, the average age of leading groups in many enterprises has become younger, and their educational standard has been raised. Hence, there is ample scope for people who know technology, business, and management well.

Judging from the realities since the 12th CPC National Congress, the contracted responsibility system has brought about remarkable results. However, we must also realize that the development in various localities is uneven. The leadership in some localities attaches great importance to it and has made remarkable achievements. But the results in some localities are rather poor. Some leading departments have not reached a common understanding on the issue, while some take a wait-and-see attitude, fearing that they may get it wrong. Some even hold that "since we have engaged in industry for decades, we can still manage to do so without implementing the contract system." Though the enterprises in some localities intensify the implementation of the system, their pace is a bit too fast. As a result, their basic work cannot catch up with the work in other areas, and their production quotas, as well as the base for contracts, are irrational, which

has affected the fulfillment of contracts. Also, though some enterprises have improved their economic results, the incomes of their staffs do not show corresponding increases. Furthermore, in order to pursue profits and revenue, a few enterprises raise prices in a disguised way at the expense of product quality and the interests of consumers, which consequently affects their reputations. Some only care about immediate interests and lack long-term planning, and engage in production just by ad hoc assembly of equipment and pooling of effort. Some do not have appropriate arrangements for the excess manpower after implementing the contract system, and so forth.

#### Lead on In-Depth Development in the Reform Which Centers on the Contract System

Though the above-mentioned problems are partial ones in the course of advancement, we should attach great importance to them and conscientiously solve them, so as to promote a healthy development of the contracted responsibility system.

1. We should eliminate "leftist" influence, emancipate our minds, and take a relaxed attitude toward and enliven the collective enterprises of the second light industry. To carry out reform is to destroy the old and establish the new. Every new step we make will encounter resistance. We must continue to eliminate "leftist" concepts of the collective economy, and to correctly handle well the relations among the state, the collective and the individual. We must conscientiously implement the principle "to each according to his work," and dispel people's worries. We must be bold in taking a relaxed attitude toward and in enlivening the enterprises of the second light industry. When we say "take a relaxed attitude," we mean adopting a lenient policy toward some areas, and implementing in a comprehensive and serious way various principles and policies of the CPC Central Committee and the State Council on the development of urban collective economy. We also mean being bold in breaking away from the old methods and old conventions which have protractedly obstructed the development of collective enterprises of the second light industry, and reforming the production relations which do not suit the development of productive forces, as well as some areas and links of the superstructure, in order to promote the development of production. When we say "enliven," we mean resolutely handling matters in connection with the nature and characteristics of collective economy, and restoring and developing the fine tradition of the enterprises of the second light industry, such as independent accounting, assuming sole responsibility for own profits and losses, democratic management, distributing to each according to his work, flexible operation, and so on, by proceeding from the characteristics of collective enterprises of the second light industry as well as of the small enterprises. We also mean upholding socialist principles, and giving full play to the readjustment role of the market under the guidance of state planning, so as to enliven both production and operation. The leading departments at various levels should actively support cadres who are bold in carrying out reform and innovation. They should learn from the spirit of Bu Xinsheng [2975 9515 3932] who works in Haiyan [3189 7770] garment factory in Zhejiang and who

is determined to carry out reforms, who actively carries out investigations, and who is bold in opening up new ways, so as to push forward the reform of collective enterprises of the second light industry.

2. We should pursue the contracted responsibility system and resolutely carry it out in a systematic way and with leadership. The second light industry has many trades, a wide range of products, and many key points and a wide distribution in the urban areas. The implementation of the contracted responsibility system involves the relations among the state, collective, and individual, as well as the relations among various departments. Also, it involves the present policies and systems concerning tax revenue, labor, wages, cadres, and so on. Therefore, we must coordinate the steps of reform in various areas. When carrying out reform, we must act under and with the leadership of the local CPC committees and government, and in connection with the spirit put forward by the leading comrades of the central authorities. That is, we must carry out the reform in a comprehensive, systematic, and resolute way, with leadership; by summing up the results of experiments; and by stages and in groups. We must avoid carrying it out "indiscriminately" and in a hasty way. Regarding those localities which have implemented the contracted responsibility system, we should conscientiously sum up their experience, strengthen their leadership, and study the new situation and new problems which emerge in the course of implementing the contract system. Also, we should formulate policies and measures, consolidate our achievements, and make efforts to perfect it. Regarding those localities which implement the contracted responsibility system slowly, we should act in connection with our actual conditions, and gradually popularize the system by summing up the experience in the experimental units. The leading departments should grasp both production and the reform. They must adopt a positive attitude as well as a quick but steady pace, and must act in a planned way and with guidance in each area.

3. We should pay attention to appropriately solving problems in relevant policies when implementing the contracted responsibility system. In the course of implementation, we must conscientiously implement the "Interim Regulations on Some Issues in the Policy Toward the Urban Collective Ownership Economy" of the State Council. We must implement the relevant policies and ensure that the property ownership, decisionmaking powers in operation, and rights of appointment and dismissal of the collective enterprises are not infringed upon. In the areas of finance, tax revenue, credit, personnel matters, goods and materials, as well as sales of products, we should actively support the development of the second light industry. When making contracts, we must do well in various basic tasks, and state a rational production quota as well as contract base. We must pay attention to maintaining the steadiness of the policy. We must resolutely fulfill contracts so as to win the people's confidence. On the distribution of profits, we must link the income of workers of contracted enterprises to business results. We may let the workers' wages float along with the business results of the enterprises. By acting in such a way, we can reflect the principle that more will be delivered to the state, the collective will retain more, and the individual will appropriately get more. In connection with the characteristics of collective enterprises, that is,

having busy and slack seasons in production and greater decisionmaking power, we must adopt methods to increase income in a moderate and cautious way, and let the income earned in the busy season compensate for the income earned in the slack season. We must retain the overfulfilled profit in an appropriate proportion. Also, we may consider allocating part of the enterprises' revenue as social insurance funds. Thus, we can prevent the enterprises from giving excessive bonuses when they reap fat profits, and can guarantee the workers' livelihood when the enterprises reap less profit or even suffer losses. In the course of implementing the contract system, we must make appropriate arrangements for excess manpower. We may organize them to give full play to their professional skills and to tap new sources of production. We must pay attention to the income of old workers, ensuring that it will not be reduced. Regarding the cadres who have not been democratically elected, we must conscientiously do well in the ideological work, and arrange jobs for them in accordance with their situation.

4. We should integrate reform with scientific management, and strive to improve the quality of enterprises. After the initiative of workers is mobilized following the implementation of the contract system, the enterprises must grasp technical advances, market information, development of products, staff training, and supply and marketing by focusing on the improvement of economic results. The enterprises must integrate reform with scientific management, and consolidate and expand the achievements of reform. We must lead the enterprises to overcome the practices of only concerning themselves with the immediate interests and neglecting long-term ones, of ad hoc assembly of equipment and pooling of effort, and of neglecting the quality of products. By acting in the spirit of reform, we must do well in various consolidation work of enterprises, strengthen business management, improve the quality of products, reduce production costs, and improve economic results. In connection with the characteristics of enterprises of the second light industry, that is, being small, diversified, flexible, and changeable, we must carry forward the tradition of arduous struggle and self-reliance, and mobilize the masses to carry out technical reform activities. Also, we must actively lead the workers to pay attention to technical advances, to study advanced technology, and to popularize and apply the achievements of scientific research. Enterprises which have the conditions should be bold in importing advanced technology and equipment, accelerate the pace of technical transformation, and gradually put an end to the backward situation in the technology of production. Also, we must pay attention to the development and rational employment of qualified personnel. We must adopt a variety of methods to train staff, and give full play to the advantage of flexibility in labor management of the collective economy. We must emancipate our minds and tap new sources in recruiting qualified personnel. We must constantly augment the technical strength of collective enterprises, or help them to solve technical problems, so as to improve both the operational and technical standards of the enterprises.

## GROUNDS FOR THE SIGNIFICANCE OF DISTINGUISHING THE MEANING OF HUMANISM IN TWO ASPECTS

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 10, 16 May 84 pp 14-21

[Article by Fang Keli [2455 0344 4539], Jin Longde [6855 7127 1795], Sun Bokui [1327 0130 0000], and Duan Ruofei [3008 5387 7236]; passages within slantlines published in boldface]

[Text] In his article entitled "On the Problems of Humanism and Alienation," Comrade Hu Qiaomu points out that humanism "has two aspects of meaning: First, it is a world outlook and a conception of history; second, it is an ethical principle and a moral norm. There are relations as well as differences between these two aspects." After they studied Comrade Hu Qiaomu's article and especially after they gained understanding through careful reading of the above-mentioned exposition, many comrades have a sense of being suddenly enlightened, and find that this article has cleared up their long-standing blurred understanding of humanism. However, some comrades asked: Is there grounds for classifying the meaning of humanism into these two aspects? Is it necessary to make such a differentiation? What is the significance of it? We are going to talk about the understanding of these problems that we have gained in our study.

### 1. The Grounds for Differentiating the Meaning of Humanism Into Two Aspects

/Differentiating the meaning of humanism into two aspects as a world outlook and conception of history and as a principle of ethics and norm of morality, is aimed at scientifically summarizing the ideological contents of the trend of humanism in history./

The trend of humanism emerged in the period of the European Renaissance. From the 14th-16th centuries, humanists did their utmost to break the monopoly of theology in the middle-ages. In the form of reviving classical civilization, they put forth the idea of regarding human beings as the core. They demanded the raising of the position of the human being, the safeguarding of human dignity, the affirmation in this life of human happiness, and add respect for the free will of man. They believed that human beings could control nature by means of science and skills and declared that human beings were "the second nature." The pioneer of humanism--the poet Dante Alighieri affirmed that "the noble quality of human beings surpassed the noble quality

of angels." He held that human life aimed precisely at seeking truth and the best virtues, and that the social function of human beings precisely meant giving full play to their latent ability. All humanists believe that human nature is good, and applied this viewpoint of the theory of abstract human nature to explaining society and history. For example, Shakespeare believed that human beings had common natural instincts and the most noble virtue of natural human instincts was mercy, he asked people to use their mutual pity, kindheartedness, and humanity to reduce their suffering and also believed that good will finally overcome evil. This kind of humanist thought not only had ethical and moral meaning, but also is a kind of world outlook which is antagonistic to religion and theology and is an idealistic conception of history using abstract human nature to explain history.

During the period of bourgeois revolution in the 17th and 18th centuries, the trend of humanism extended from the usual cultural and ideological spheres to the sphere of politics and became a flag with which the enlightened thinkers of the bourgeoisie opposed feudal autocracy and the feudal social estate system. Ge Lao Xiu Si [2706 5071 0208 2448], one of the founders of the "theory of natural rights," held that law was based on men's natural instincts, which is the criterion for all right and wrong, good and evil, justice and injustice in the world. If society did not conform with human nature and human sympathy, it was irrational and should be changed. The enlightened thinker, Jean Jacques Rousseau, pointed out that in primeval times, human beings all relied for their living on their good and honest natural instincts and people were all equal. Later, private ownership and tyranny caused human beings to sink into an abyss of inequality and inhumanity. Jean Jacques Rousseau, Thomas Hobbes and John Locke were all alike, they all wanted to establish, through the "social contract," countries with liberty, equality, and democracy. During this period, "rationality," "human rights," "liberty," "equality," and "universal fraternity" were the most sonorous slogans. Precisely as Engels pointed out: "These words are more or less in the category of morality." Though they played an important role in the development of revolution at that time, "they could not prove anything concerning historical and political problems."<sup>1</sup> This is aimed precisely at distinguishing the ethical and moral meaning from the meaning of world outlook and conception of history. The reason why they cannot scientifically elucidate historical, social, and political problems is because they all start from the abstract human being and human nature. For example, what are human rights? The two French "Manifestos of Human Rights" in 1789 and 1793 all said that these rights are precisely "equality, liberty, safety, and property." Then, where do human rights come from? Both manifestos say that human rights are "natural rights" with which men are endowed by nature "in accordance with their natural instincts." This is also the case with "equality" and "liberty." From this, we see that none of these political and moral categories are devoid of the aspect meaning a world outlook and conception of history. The bourgeoisie wanted more people to share political power, therefore, they used the theory of human rights to oppose the theory that political power was endowed by God. Engels called this kind of humanist conception of history "the classical world outlook of the bourgeoisie."<sup>2</sup>

In the 19th century, the German philosopher, Ludwig Andreas Feuerbach's theory of humanism was full of ethical and moral preachings related to "love," but when he changed "love" into a kind of new religion, he was precisely publicizing a kind of classical idealist world outlook and conception of history. Engels pointed out: "In Feuerbach's mind, love was at any time and anywhere a god who worked wonders and could help him overcome all difficulties in practical life. And this was in a society where people are divided into classes with directly antagonistic interests. In this way, his philosophy lost its last bit of revolutionary nature."<sup>3</sup> He also pointed out: "Feuerbach's theory on morality is the same as that of all his predecessors. The theory suits all eras, all nationalities, and all circumstances; and for this very reason, it is applicable at no time and nowhere."<sup>4</sup> These words can also be regarded as a criticism against all moral preaching publicized by humanists on universal kindheartedness and a humanistic world outlook. Marx and Engels had also criticized the absurd views of "genuine socialists" who attempted to liberate the human race by means of love, and pointed out that "this is aimed at turning communism into ravings of love," or peddling the dirty rubbish of the Christian religion under the signboard of communism.<sup>5</sup> Karl Grun said: "Under any circumstances, only by relying on the humanist world outlook can genuine socialists open up the way to the future life of the human race."<sup>6</sup> He clearly and definitely alleged that humanism was a kind of "world outlook." Marx and Engels also regarded humanism as a world outlook and a conception of history to criticize, and pointed out that "this kind of quack and cure-all medicine in the social sphere also takes the ignorance of social laws as its foundation."<sup>7</sup>

From the viewpoint of humanism, the utopian socialists of the 19th century fiercely attacked the capitalist system and put forth all sorts of social reform schemes as ideal blueprints for future society. But, like the bourgeois humanists, concerning the social conception of history, the utopian socialists also publicized the idealism of the theory of abstract human nature. Saint-Simon advocated that human nature was good, held that rational knowledge was the motive force for the development of history, publicized a kind of universal love, and hoped that capitalist society would be reformed through negotiations with the capitalists. Francois M.C. Fournier held that the natural instincts of human beings are composed of passions and desires. If we allow the passions and desires to fully develop and if the passions and desires of each person attract that of the other, we will certainly form a harmonious society. Robert Owen held that ignorance was the source of all social crimes, and he attempted to arouse the human race from "confusion and error in their reason" through education and to bring about a society that conformed with the natural instincts of human beings. The political and ethical theory of utopian socialism contains much rational content, but it advocated universal love and preached abstract humanism to arouse human nature. By so doing, it could not point out a realistic way to liberate the proletariat and the whole human race. Its idealistic world outlook and conception of history was criticized by Marx and Engels.

Through a review of the historical development of the trend of humanism, we can see that the humanism that has emerged in our history has two aspects of meaning, that of a world outlook and a conception of history and that of an ethical principle and moral norm.

/Distinguishing between the two aspects of the meanings of humanism is a correct exposition and development of the consistent view which the founders of Marxism used in commenting on the problems of humanism./

Before Marx and Engels became the founders of scientific communism--Marxism, they were influenced by Feuerbach's humanism. During that period, they regarded humanism as a kind of ethical principle and moral norm and had directly employed it to criticize the capitalist system and expose the fact that capitalist production "treated men as commodities" and "treated men as things that are not human either spiritually or physically."<sup>8</sup> They exposed the fact that "with regard to its inhuman and cruel nature," the current capitalist slave system "was not inferior to the ancient slave system."<sup>9</sup> They exposed the fact that "all miracles of the civilization" in capitalist society have "contained certain kinds of ugly things that are antagonistic to human nature."<sup>10</sup> At the same time, in light of the world outlook and conception of history, they expounded more on their own "genuine humanist thoughts" which were not free from the influence of Feuerbach. For example, Marx precisely started from Feuerbach's theory that "man is the highest essence of man," and reached the conclusion that "it is imperative to overthrow all those relations which make human beings things that are humiliated, enslaved, forsaken, and despised."<sup>11</sup> Just like Feuerbach who regarded the establishment of unified love between human beings on the basis of the difference between the two sexes as the category-nature of human beings, Marx also saw the mutual need between human beings in their relations of physical labor--production activities. "It was precisely in reforming the target world, that human beings can really prove that they exist as a category of matter," "the category characteristics of human beings lie precisely in their free and conscious activities."<sup>12</sup> However, under the system of private property, the real physical labor, that is wage labor, is "alienated labor." In doing alienated labor, workers lose the category-nature of doing free and conscious labor. Only in a communist society where the system of private property is eliminated, can the category-nature of human beings be really realized and restored. Marx called this kind of communism "accomplished humanism."<sup>13</sup> At that time, Engels also employed to a certain extent Feuerbach's viewpoint on humanism [renbenzhuyi 0086 2609 0031 5030] to understand the world. For example, he said: "It is only necessary for a human being to understand himself, to enable himself to become a yardstick to measure all living relations, and to evaluate these relations in accordance with his own innate character and arrange things in the world in genuine accordance with the human ways and with the needs resulting from his own innate nature. If he has done all this, he will be able to correctly solve the modern riddle."<sup>14</sup> Obviously all this showed that he understood humanism in the light of its meaning as a world outlook and a conception of history.

The reason why Marx and Engels could become the founders of Marxism, is because they thoroughly eliminated their previous philosophical convictions, resolutely cast aside the humanist world outlook and conception of history which regards abstract human beings as its starting point. They found their own starting point, that is, starting from people's activities of material production and from people's social relations, which have taken shape on the basis of these activities, to concretely understand human beings and their essence. As a result, they established a materialist conception of history that is fundamentally antagonistic to the historical idealism of humanism. In his article entitled "Outlines on Feuerbach" which was written in the spring of 1845, Marx had already broken away from the view that "man is the loftiest essence of man," and clearly and definitely pointed out that "the essence of man was not the inherent abstraction of a single man. In reality, it is the sum total of all social relationships."<sup>15</sup> Then, in the article entitled "The German Ideology" which was written by Marx in collaboration with Engels in 1845-1846, they carried out a thorough systematic criticism on Feuerbach's historical idealism, and fundamentally fulfilled the great task of founding a materialist conception of history. Marx and Engels pointed out that although what Feuerbach meant by a human being was real and physical things, he did not observe people in the light of their existing social relations and of the material living conditions which enable them to become what they were for the time being. Therefore, "Feuerbach has never seen human beings in actual existence and action and his understanding stopped at the idea of abstract 'man.'"<sup>16</sup> The materialist conception of history holds that an individual in reality "is engaged in activities and is carrying out material production and thus actively expresses himself within and under a certain material limit, precondition, and condition which are not controlled at will by them." "A specific individual who carries out production activities with a certain method will be involved in specific political relations."<sup>17</sup> On this basis, social structure and state occur.

After establishing the materialist conception of history, Marx and Engels no longer called their own theory "humanism" or "genuine humanism," and carried out an all-round and thorough criticism of bourgeois humanism from the point of view of their world outlook and conception of history. They exposed the false nature of the slogans of "human rights," "liberty," "equality," and "universal fraternity" which were based on the theory of human nature and exposed the essence of these slogans as tools that serve the capitalist wage-labor system. Marx pointed out that after the emergence of scientific socialism, if anyone still "tried to substitute the modern mythology related to the goddess of justice, liberty, equality, and universal fraternity for the materialist basis of scientific socialism, he was precisely doing something stupid, senseless, and fundamentally reactionary."<sup>18</sup>

Marx and Engels severely criticized bourgeois humanism from the point of view of their world outlook and conception of history and at the same time, they continued to use the concepts of "humanity" and "humanism" in the sense of an ethical principle and amoral norm. For example, they condemned the bourgeois system of exploitation and regarded it as an inhuman system that treated workers "merely as machines to produce wealth for other

people."<sup>19</sup> They pointed out that the bourgeoisie reached the peak of perfection in fabricating lies on the law and conducting immoral activities, and "the application of law was much more inhuman than the law itself" and so forth.<sup>20</sup> On the other hand, they also expounded on the proletarian revolution and the humanist nature of its goal from the point of view of ethics and morality. Engels said that all proletarian "self-cultivation and movement is in reality humanist."<sup>21</sup> When Marx expounded on the Paris Commune, that was the first great attempt in establishing the dictatorship of the proletariat, he pointed out: "The commune provides a rational environment and enables class struggle to go through its several different stages in the most rational and humanist form."<sup>22</sup> The "humanity" and "humanism" mentioned here, is a kind of "self-cultivation and movement," and a kind of "mode of action." Obviously, it is included in the scope of ethics and morality, and does not have the meaning of world outlook and conception of history.

The above analyses show that both before and after Marx and Engels established the materialist conception of history, they made comments on humanism from both the point of view of regarding it as a world outlook and a conception of history and that of regarding it as an ethical principle and a moral norm. We are fully justified in saying that distinguishing between the two aspects of meaning in humanism is the correct exposition on and development of the consistent views with which the founders of Marxism made comments on the problem of humanism.

## 2. The Significance of Distinguishing Between the Two Aspects of Meaning in Humanism

Distinguishing between the two aspects of meaning in humanism--regarding it as a world outlook and a conception of history and regarding it as an ethical principle and a moral norm--not only has sufficient historical and theoretical grounds, but is also of great theoretical and practical significance. It is of direct guiding significance in solving the long-standing theoretical problem and practical problem in our discussion on humanism.

/Distinguishing between the two aspects of meaning in humanism lays a foundation for correctly clarifying the relationship between Marxism and humanism./

The problem of the relationship between Marxism and humanism is not only an outstanding problem in discussing the problem of humanism in the past few years but is also a problem which has not been properly solved since we criticized humanism in the late 1950's. The various different understandings which have existed on this problem can be summed up into two major kinds: One kind of viewpoint holds that Marxism and humanism are two kinds of fundamentally and diametrically opposed ideological systems that are incompatible with each other, and that Marxism cannot confirm, inherit, or tolerate humanism in any sense, because humanism is a part of bourgeois ideology. The other viewpoint holds that Marxism and humanism are mutually related and in essence, Marxism is humanism. It regards Marxism as a faction of the humanist trend. For example, it holds that Marxism is "the

loftiest humanism," "a thoroughgoing humanism," "a realistic humanism" and so forth. This is the concentrated expression of this kind of viewpoint. Its essence is to regard Marxism as humanism or to say that Marxism is humanistic. Both these kinds of viewpoints fail to make a concrete historical inspection of the ideological contents of humanism or to distinguish between its different aspects and different phases. In particular, they failed to accurately understand and distinguish between the two aspects of the meaning of humanism, namely, the meaning that regards it as a world outlook and a conception of history and that which regards it as an ethical principle and a moral norm. Therefore, when the two aspects of the meaning of humanism are confused, this or that kind of one-sidedness will aptly emerge. When we criticize the humanistic world outlook and conception of history, we often negate the historical legacy of humanism which is regarded as an ethical principle and a moral norm. When we affirm the humanistic nature of our undertakings, we also forget the basic viewpoint that humanism as a world outlook and a conception of history is an idealist view. Some comrades can affirm in principle that Marxism has a critical and an inheritable relationship with humanism, but it is also quite difficult for them to properly solve the problem of what should be criticized and what should be inherited, because they cannot clearly and definitely distinguish the two aspects of the meaning of humanism.

Since the late 1950's, our country has time and again criticized humanism. However, because we failed to distinguish between the two aspects of the meaning of humanism, we turned our criticism of the humanistic idealist conception of history into opposing humanism in all of its senses. Thus we negated the relative independence and historical continuity of humanism as an ethical principle. For quite a long period, we even ceased to publicize revolutionary humanism and socialist humanism. This has played a negative role in establishing and perfecting our country's socialist democracy and legal system, making our literature and art prosperous and promoting the construction of our spiritual civilization. During the past few years, some comrades went to another extreme. They ascribed the historical disaster of the 10 years of turmoil, the causes of which were very complicated, entirely to the negation of humanism. In theory, these comrades also failed to distinguish between the two aspects of the meaning of humanism and indiscriminately talked about the common nature and consistency between Marxism and humanism. In the name of affirming and inheriting "general humanism" and its "basic principles," they confirmed the humanist conception of history of the abstract human nature theory confused the demarcation line between the historical materialism of Marxism and the historical idealism of humanism, and thus denied the diametrical antithesis between the two kinds of world outlooks and conceptions of history. This erroneous ideological trend will bring serious losses to our undertakings if we fail to correct it in a timely manner.

It was precisely with this background that Comrade Hu Qiaomu put forth his idea on the distinction between the two aspects of the meaning of humanism. The task of his article was to oppose the two above-mentioned erroneous tendencies. In order to both fundamentally draw a clear demarcation line between the principles of Marxism and humanism and correctly explain the

critical and inheritable relationship between Marxism and the historical ideological legacy, Comrade Hu Qiaomu clearly pointed out: As a world outlook and a conception of history, humanism is an ideal and is diametrically antagonistic to the historical materialism of Marxism. We should not mix one with the other, include one in the other, or regard one as the reason for the other. However, as an ethical principle and a moral norm, humanism has continuity from the point of view of the historical development of ideology. Marxism does not completely negate humanism in this sense. Thus Hu Qiaomu correctly expounded on the relationship between Marxism and humanism, and laid a foundation for clarifying the various kinds of long-standing ideological confusion on this problem. In a sense, by so doing, he has made a very satisfactory methodological summing up of this controversy.

/Distinguishing between the two aspects of the meaning of humanism has provided an orientation of principle for correctly analyzing, studying, and treating bourgeois humanism./

Bourgeois humanism is an ideology of the exploiting classes. It has played different roles in the different periods of its historical development, but it always serves the interests of the bourgeoisie. Particularly, since the bourgeoisie seized state power, it has used humanism as an ideological tool to paralyze the fighting will of the laboring people and oppose the class struggle of the proletariat. Concerning bourgeois idealism, we must criticize it.

How are we to correctly criticize bourgeois humanism? We must draw on historical lessons from the past and should not negate all of it without analysis. The distinction between the two aspects of the meaning of humanism has clearly told us that we should first criticize the world outlook and conception of history of bourgeois humanism, which is an idealism radically antagonistic to the historical materialism of Marxism and which must be resolutely criticized and thoroughly negated. Second, we should criticize that part of bourgeois humanism which is an ethical principle and amoral norm and which is not suited to the needs of the people. For example, we should criticize its key principle of individualism and its idea of "do not resist evils," an idea that opposes revolutionary violence, and we should expose the falsehood of its universal ideological form. As for that part of its positive content that surpasses the boundaries of bourgeois interests, we can and must inherit and absorb it after criticizing and transforming it with Marxism.

The reason why we must resolutely criticize bourgeois humanism as a world outlook and conception of history, is because it explains history by abstract human nature and human essence and uses this nature and essence as a criterion to judge all social systems and historical movements. Necessarily, this demands a final explanation of the meaning of human nature and human essence in order to discover the essence and innate nature of a so-called "real human being." Because the essence and innate nature of "human beings" must be the common nature of the human race that all people have, the conception of human nature or essence can only be a most general

abstraction. Starting from the abstract concepts of "human nature" or "human essence" and trying to describe the history of the entire human race as the history of the gradual realization of "human nature" or "human essence" is precisely the essential characteristic of the conception of history of bourgeois humanism. This idealistic conception of the history of the theory of abstract human nature can neither correctly explain the reality of our society and history nor show the people a realistic path for transforming society or promoting the development of history. How can the proletariat establish a scientific, historical materialist conception of history if it fails to resolutely discard this kind of empty preaching of idealism?

As for the aspect of bourgeois humanism as an ethical principle and a moral norm, there is still a problem of concrete analysis and criticism and inheritance. In his article, Comrade Hu Qiaomu points out that the ethical and moral ideal of bourgeois humanism is the loftiest moral ideal that had ever been put forth before the socialist movement of the proletariat. However, it is impossible for some of its positive contents to be actually realized under capitalist society. This positive content can only be gradually and actually realized after it is critically inherited and transformed by the proletariat. Comrade Hu Qiaomu's article stresses that we must draw a clear demarcation line of principle between socialist humanism and the bourgeois humanism that is an ethical principle and a moral norm, and points out that the difference in the basis of their world outlook and conception of history has given rise to a series of antithesis. Therefore, we should not inherit and should criticize individualism, the key principle of the ethical and moral norms of bourgeois humanism. As for the rational things in the ethical principle of the bourgeois humanism, we can only inherit it after criticizing and transforming it by Marxism. Never should we do what some comrades want us to do and think that if we only discard the foundation of bourgeois humanism in its world outlook and conception of history, take over its "basic principle of humanism" and "general humanism," and stick a "Marxist" label on it, we can think that we have already fulfilled the task of "critically inheriting it." This kind of mechanical method of inheritance is by no means a scientific attitude of the proletariat toward historical legacy and can never be regarded as a Marxist method of critical inheritance.

/The distinction between the two aspects of meaning of humanism provides a scientific theoretical basis for vigorously publicizing and practicing socialist humanism./

Comrade Hu Qiaomu's article is mainly aimed at criticizing the various erroneous views on problems related to humanism and alienation that have emerged in the past few years. However, in one full section of the article, he focuses on discussing the problem related to socialist humanism. This shows that he pays particularly great attention to this problem and puts the publicizing and practicing of socialist humanism in an important position in our country's actual social and theoretical life. For a rather long period of time in the past, we failed to distinguish between the two aspects of the meaning of humanism and regarded criticizing bourgeois

humanism as opposing humanism in all senses. Therefore, we dared not adopt a clear-cut stand in publicizing, advocating and enthusiastically practicing the ethical principle of socialist humanism which we ought to have vigorously publicized and practiced. This has already produced a negative consequence that cannot be overlooked. Today, we accept the historical lessons drawn on from our past, vigorously advocate and publicize socialist humanism, and regard it as an important part of the construction of socialist spiritual civilization. This will play a very important role in consolidating our socialist economic foundation and political system and promoting the realization of the modernization program.

Some people have already put forth the idea of "socialist humanism," but they failed to give a clear definition to its denotation and connotation or a correct explanation on its relations with the socialist economic and political system, with the Marxist world outlook and conception of history, with the ethical principle of bourgeois humanism, with revolutionary humanism, and with communist morality. Therefore, this idea remained a relatively abstract and general concept and was not universally accepted and used by our ideological and theoretical circles. Comrade Hu Qiaomu's article makes a distinction between the two aspects of the meaning of humanism and defined the correct boundary of principle for the denotation and connotation of the important ethical concept of socialist humanism. First, socialist humanism is neither a kind of world outlook and conception of history nor an integrated ideological system. It is only an ethical and moral idea. It is a part of the communist moral system and a relatively low-level but basic moral requirement in the overall system of communist morality. Therefore, obviously, it differs from bourgeois humanism which is regarded as an integrated ideological system and has two aspects of meaning, both as a world outlook and conception of history and an ethical principle and a moral norm. Compared with historical humanism, socialist humanism can be regarded as a special kind of humanism, just as socialist commodity production is a special kind of commodity production. Second, socialist humanism as an ethical principle and a moral norm has no significance to world outlook and conception of history on its own, but it is based on the world outlook and conception of history of Marxism. The ethical principle of socialist humanism differs diametrically from bourgeois humanism, which starts from abstract human nature or human essence, in that it starts from socialist social relations and from the needs and possibilities of the actual development of socialist construction and it directly serves the consolidation of the socialist economic foundation and political system. Like its predecessor, revolutionary humanism in years of the revolutionary wars, socialist humanism is also an ethical principle for the proletariat and the people and cannot dispense with the guidance of the Marxist world outlook and conception of history.

Theoretically clarifying the connotation and denotation of the ethical idea of socialist humanism and defining the content and scope of the socialist ethical relations that it reflects is of great significance for our real life in correctly publicizing and practicing socialist humanism. We should closely link with reality in the politics, economy, social transformation, and construction in our socialist society. When we are carrying out communist

ideological education among the vast number of people and youngsters, we should vigorously publicize socialist humanism with collectivism as the core and encourage unity, mutual help, friendly love, mutual respect, sympathy, and concern between socialist laborers. This is also the case for relations between society and the individual. On the one hand, the society esteems, shows concern for, and satisfies the needs of the individual. On the other hand, the individual performs his duties and makes his contributions to society. We must start neither from slogans such as abstract "human nature," "human essence," "value of man," "human dignity," "human freedom," and "man being the goal," nor from the concept of "general humanism," thus demanding society satisfy various needs of the individual. Then, if society fails to do so, we denounce society and regard the socialist system as "inhuman." Demanding humanism in this manner in fact is not a demand for socialist humanism, but is a demand for a humanist "socialism." Under socialist conditions, because of differences in people's stands, starting points, world outlook and conceptions of history, though they are all publicizing humanism, some of them are publicizing socialist humanism and others are publicizing bourgeois socialism. We must pay attention to this fact and help our masses of people and youngsters make a clear distinction between these people.

In short, the distinction between the two aspects of the meaning of humanism is of very great theoretical and practical significance for us in adhering to Marxism, criticizing bourgeois humanism, and publicizing and practicing socialist humanism. If we can consider this problem in the light of the history of the evolution of the ideological trend of humanism, the history of the nearly 50 years of the development of Marxism, and the broad background of the ideological struggle in the past and at present, and in addition if we can closely link the consideration with reality in our socialist construction, naturally we will be able to more clearly understand the great significance of this theoretical summing up in Comrade Hu Qiaomu's article.

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## ON SARTRE'S EXISTENTIALISM

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 10, 16 May 84 pp 22-28

[Article by Feng Hanjing [7458 3352 3160]; passages within slantlines published in boldface]

[Text] The famous French writer, Jean-Paul Sartre (1905-1980), advocate of existentialist philosophy, outlined some academic images which exposed certain existential facets of man living in capitalist society. His work received a great deal of attention.

These existential ideas of Sartre painted a dark and gloomy picture, were filled with confusion and disarray, and were very depressing and in this sense they were negative and broken images. The people painted in his images were filled with worry, totally dejected, and their eyes downcast, aimlessly taking the "free path" of self-choice. It should be said that the images are a distortion of the true picture of life and the people in these are in no way real people who suffered life in French society. When one reads this philosophy one cannot help but ask: Is this an image of ourselves? Is this the vista for mankind?

### I

Sartre's academic works provided a graphic explanation of the images of existential philosophy. The people in this picture all drink the milk of existentialism and through doing so became alive and active. Thus when we analyze his academic works, we must look at Sartre's views concerning existential philosophy and only by doing this can we gain a better understanding of his work.

When we examine the earlier works of Sartre we see that during the later 1930's and the early 1940's his work basically set out from an exploration of man himself. In "Being and Nothingness" published in 1943, the existentialist philosophy propounded became the theoretical basis for his academic work.

Sartre found himself living through the 1930's economic crisis of the capitalist world and the political crisis on the eve of World War II and thus the primary philosophical area with which he dealt was the question of man's

existence. What was the purpose and meaning of man's existence? What was man's existential environment? Why did man suffer so much? Doubts and questions such as these were on the lips of many young people during this period of capitalist society and thus Sartre sought to find answers to these questions in the German philosopher Husserl's study of phenomena and Heidegger's existentialism.

Sartre summed up all things in existence, including human beings, simply as phenomena, believing that phenomena represented the essential nature, and he called it noumenal phenomenon monism. Thus how did these existential things exist? What were their basic and essential characteristics? Sartre explained it all with the term "chance." His so-called "thing-in-itself" implied that the objective world was solid, self-enclosing, passive, and inert, and thus its existence was both nonpossible and noninevitable. "Existential being was not created and has no reason for existing and bears no relationship whatsoever to any other kind of existence and it is forever superfluous." This chance and nonrational existence represented the foundation of Sartre's philosophy of existentialism and it was also the theoretical basis from which he determined that "the world is absurd."

Sartre's representative work "Nausea" epitomized the absurdity of the world and of people. The main character of the book is placed within the middle of this absurd world and constantly feels doubt and dread about objective things. In the park he sees the roots of a chestnut tree sinking into the earth, rich and black and criss-crossing roots and he feels frightened because the chance of this thing's existence engenders absurdity. Furthermore Sartre takes absurdity as the essential nature of things. In his book "Nausea" he wrote: "Now I understand, I have found the answer to existence, the answer to my nausea, the answer to my entire life. In fact, everything that I understand can be summed up by this essential thing called the absurd... I want to establish the absolute nature of the absurd." In Sartre's view, the absurd was difficult to explain and could not be overcome. The existence of man himself was also absurd since "all things in existence come into existence without intention or design, continue without strength and die or cease to exist by chance." In other words there was no rational basis for man's life or death.

Sartre's pessimistic and defeatist ideas about mankind were integrated with his ideas about human experiences which he called "nausea." He subjectively asserted and believed that "nausea" represented the life experiences and fundamental significance of man. He said that "nausea is I myself," and that "nausea" formed the existential traits of man, so that apparently man could only instinctively be aware of his continued existence in the world when he sensed this nausea and thus nausea grasped the essence of existence. For Sartre, nausea and suffering were both confirmations of the value of man's existence and they were the concrete manifestations of the essential nature of man's existence. In his work "Being and Nothingness" he wrote: "The reality of man's being is suffering... And in terms of its essential nature, it is the consciousness of misfortune and it cannot transcend the state of misfortune."

The feeling of "nausea" in existentialism comes from the biased belief that the world is absurd and the knowledge of this "absurdity" is rooted in the philosophical basis which claims that worldly existence is chance and non-rational. Thus as far as Sartre was concerned, material existence is chance and chance is the only attribute of material existence and this thus begs the following question: What outside force has this thing, manifested by chance, come into contact with to cause it to change from a static state to a dynamic state? Since the thing-in-itself is solid, self-enclosing, and static, how did its chance nature come about? There is only one answer, the design of God or some "absolute spirit." It is here that existentialism either consciously or unconsciously merges with objective idealism. Dialectical materialism in no way denies the phenomenon of chance in the development of things, but it considers that chance is supplementary to and a manifestation of necessity. Engels said: "Things which have been determined to be necessary are made up out of pure chance while so-called chance things are simply a form in which necessity is hidden within."<sup>1</sup> In contrast to the existentialist view, Marxism holds that /"movement is the existential form of matter./ At no place and at no time is there, or is it possible for there to be matter without movement."<sup>2</sup> To concede the point that chance and necessity are opposed and unified and to concede the point concerning the movement of matter and the mutual relationship between things makes it simple to understand that "/law/ is the form through which universality in the natural world is manifested."<sup>3</sup> Since the world and man's existence are not chance phenomena and not irrational, the theoretical foundation for the existentialist belief that the world and man's existence are absurd does not hold water.

In his academic work Sartre described "nausea" and "suffering" as the universal life experiences of man's existence and this doubtlessly stems from the above-mentioned system of idealist philosophy while at the same time it also rooted in narrow and biased understanding. First of all nausea, suffering, and other feelings only represent one part of man's psychological phenomena, and not the entirety. Suffering is both mutually opposed to and complementary to enjoyment, one aspect cannot cover up the other and thus bias the entirety. Of even greater importance is that if the experiences of suffering are not linked to social reality but are described only as purely psychological things, then no positive light can be shed on the significance of suffering. The psychological experiences of the oppressor and the oppressed are completely different in terms of their social content. For example, a rich capitalist family with their surplus of food and good clothing may experience a suffering because of their boundless greed, but this is totally incomparable to the suffering experienced by oppressed classes who never achieve even the slightest rights to existence. Sartre did not, nor was he able to accurately point out the class and social origins of many of the irrational phenomena to be found within the capitalist society. Instead he took these phenomena and transformed them into abstract and absolute existential suffering, which represents a fundamental contradiction of social reality. The negative, pessimistic, and world-weary picture of existence that he painted did, needless to say, represent nothing but a belittlement of those who were working for social progress and was doubtless also a smear on the inevitably bright future that is destined for human society.

## II

After the start of World War II, France was defeated very quickly and within a very short space of time, a matter of several years, Sartre experienced the complex life of a soldier, a prisoner of war, and a member of the underground resistance. These experiences could not but be reflected in Sartre's works. The works he produced from this period may be seen as the pinnacle of his literary achievements in terms of their ideas and content.

In the resistance movement Sartre came into contact with many members of the French Communist Party and other advanced social forces, which stimulated great changes in Sartre's political ideas. Many of his works from this period are tightly linked with social reality and thus they have some very recommendable parts in them. For example, in the two plays "La Putain Respectueuse" and "Death Without Burial Place" [literal translation] Sartre illustrates the resistance of the people of the lower strata of capitalist society in opposing reactionary forces; these plays tend more to be political plays than existentialist plays in a strict sense. For Sartre the further from the bounds of existentialist philosophy his literary creations were, the more his works were able to withstand the test of reality. This clearly illustrates how great a disparity exists between existentialism and social reality.

The main characteristic of Sartre's work from this period was the way it tended to illustrate man's lot in existence and man's free will in specific existential circumstances. He believed that man was strictly ruled by the environment around him and found it extremely difficult to escape this. In "L'Etre et le Neant" he wrote: "We can in no way change our lot as freely as we want, nor can we change ourselves. We cannot 'freely' escape from the destiny of one class, one race, or one family, nor can we build up our own power and wealth, nor can we even overcome the merest desire or habit." Sartre admitted that man's existence was restricted by his environment and many times he evidenced signs of determinism. However, he also recognized that man can make choices within his innate circumstances, and this so-called freedom was the individual's choice or will to exist or be. However, when we examine Sartre's words and feelings on free will, we discover that this will is full of contradictions that are difficult to overcome.

On the one hand, Sartre affirmed that man's behavior was the result of a specific social environment. In her life as a prostitute in the play "La Putain Respectueuse," the character Li Qi [5461 7871] involuntarily gets caught up in the whirlpool of the capitalist system's most gruesome and frightening aspect--racial hatred and fear. The book exposes the pitiful lot of the blacks, and furthermore, by means of the sharp contradiction in elevating a prostitute from the lower levels of society to the relative comfort of connections with a government member in the upper levels of society, the book ensures that the existential lot of one individual takes on some social color. His work "Death Without Burial Place" depicts the cruel torture undergone by resistance soldiers facing a backdrop of a resistance to fascism, and thus it exposes the social intention of the existential will of the individual. After approval by Hitler's occupying

forces, Sartre's play "Les Mouches" was performed in 1943 employing themes from ancient Greek mythology. Thus the main character Erusixinsi [0192 3843 2448 2805 2448] shouts: "Jupiter, you are king of the gods, lord of the earth and the stars, ruler of the seas, but you are not king of mankind." This was aimed at Hitler and was a hidden pointer to the future demise of fascist rule. All of these positive factors gained Sartre public approval and confirmation and thus added to the luster of his works.

On the other hand, it must also be pointed out that his works were only refurbished versions of existentialist philosophy and thus even the play "La Putain Respectueuse," a fairly advanced play for Sartre, loses some of its value because of the way it is confined by existentialist ideas. Sartre did not pay any attention to the social results and significance of choice or will, and thus Sartre's free will became an aim in itself and not a means to an end; freedom for freedom's sake and choice for choice's sake and that is all. In "La Putain Respectueuse," although the main character, the prostitute, feels for the lot of the black man, she is taken in by the sweet words of the senator and signs false testimony. As a result, the white murderer goes free and the innocent black man dies a violent death. The prostitute finally throws herself into the arms of the racial oppressors. Sartre gives us the obverse side of the prostitute in his description of her, but the final choice that she makes disappoints the reader due to her objective choice, in which she turns black and white upside down and frames an innocent person. If we cannot say that this choice illustrates the split in the prostitute's character, then the very least we can say is that Sartre's style of free will is an artificial search for dramatic results and it does not pay any attention to social results.

In the play "Death Without Burial Place," Sartre also searches for this "individual choice." Although this play explains that the conflicts and contradictions involved originate from between the resistance soldiers and the state security forces, the entire play concentrates on illustrating the abstract relationship between the cruel tortures of the interrogator on the one hand, and the person being tortured on the other. This kind of relationship can be represented in any kind of class society without any problems. By the end the political criminals feel no love and no hatred and have no more feelings about dying than giving the name of their guerrilla group commander, let alone any convictions about what they are doing. The author did not, as he should have done, arouse the sense of social righteousness of the people and the belief of inevitable victory over fascism when he described these fearful tortures and death. On the other hand, this description of an existential analysis of death evokes very negative results and can evoke a fear of death and physical suffering and a loss of conviction in righteous causes among some readers.

In conclusion, the free will that Sartre espoused represents isolated behavior outside of society. It represents the self-gratification of subjective desires. In Sartre's eyes, every action, every time, and every place involves free will, and it is of an extremely universal nature as well as being subjectively arbitrary, lacking any objective basis or standards. Thus, free will is seen by Sartre as being universal and all-powerful. This was in direct contrast to Sartre's own "lot" in life.

One of the major themes throughout Sartre's work was the way he made inter-human relationships the major part of free will. The most representative example of this is found in his play "Huis Clos." This play examines the relationships between people, alluded to by means of the contention between three souls imprisoned in hell, and at its very best only serves to illustrate the moral belief of existentialism that the self is the most important. In light of this moral belief, all of man's positive struggling, unity and friendship, selflessness, and spirit of self-sacrifice to create a better future for mankind seems to completely disappear, and instead man becomes a vile and vicious creature. Sartre believed that the existence of others was only confirmed through oneself, while the existence of oneself could only be confirmed through others. The most fundamental form of existence of others and the self was mutual denial. As a result of the appearance of others, the existence of oneself was unavoidably harmed, which was true for everyone in all relationships, among friends, mothers and fathers, and even lovers. In his work "L'Etre et le Neant" Sartre wrote: "As soon as I exist I set up factual restrictions on the freedom of others." One of the female characters in "Huis Clos" says: "There are traps everywhere, but what's so bad about that for me? I too am a trap. I am a trap for her." Thus the playwright sums up interhuman relationships in one phrase: "Hell is other people." Sartre believed that it was pointless and meaningless to respect other people's freedom, and that if we did respect other people's freedom, then the conditions for free will would no longer exist and freedom itself would be wiped out. Thus, in order for there to be freedom and free will, there must be a hell. Sartre thus took the mutual cheating of the capitalist society and the tendency to pass the buck in interhuman relationships as the perpetual model of human society. He totally ignored class relationships in his examination of people in society, which is a mortal wound for existential metaphysics.

A little later Sartre published "Existentialisme est une Forme d'Humanisme" (1946), in which he acknowledged some of the criticism of others about his moral beliefs and existentialism. He pointed out: "As long as I accept the responsibility, then I must seek the freedom of others at the same time I seek my own freedom." This acknowledgement was very different from what he had written in "L'Etre et le Neant," and thus it almost seemed to be a correction of one of Sartre's own mistakes. However, it proved very hard for him to sustain this belief throughout his work and thus in the same work he wrote that he believed: "There is nothing except what man does and is for himself." This statement was a continued confirmation of the superior position of individualism. Later on he cited an example, saying that during the period of resistance against Germany, a young person could either become involved in the resistance movement or could stay at home waiting for mother, and that both choices were permissible, and that since value was too abstract and lacked any certainty, it was only possible for choice to be based on emotions and instinct. How can this kind of instinctual choice, which eliminates rational guidance and lacks any objective standards, allow the "freedom of others" to be sought by making it one's own freedom? In actual fact, in Sartre's later works there are virtually no instances that suggest that the free will he espoused was intellectual and showed responsibility for other people, primarily the people in general.

Sartre's trilogy "Les Chemins de la Liberte" (1945-1949), represented his greatest work on the philosophy of free will. The author did not write about and describe the countless numbers who sensed the threat of war and thus mobilized themselves to become the powerful current of the times. The reader instead sees some individuals during a time of national calamity, busy practicing egotistical free will. The central character, a philosophy teacher, sees individual choice as an inviolable right and is not willing to sacrifice individual freedom in order to save the country. When he finds himself unwillingly drawn into the vortex of war and the army there is no clarification of his conscious understanding of the necessary relationship between his individual destiny and the fate of the motherland; rather, he believes that this is an historical error and that the ruthless mechanism of war is playing a joke on him. A sharp contradiction between the individual freedom of the central character and the freedom of the motherland remains throughout. At the final juncture of the course of his life, the bullets he fires at the German fascists are not a manifestation of the redressed hatred and revenge of a nation, but instead represent a remedy for all the various unfulfilled yearnings of his life. He wants to "perish along with the world." This kind of hysterical venting of personal spite has nothing to do with patriotism or heroism. This is nothing more than his final self-confirmation as he stands on the dangerous cliff of "the path of freedom."

When we assess the above works we see that none of the characters in Sartre's works truly takes on social responsibility in his free will. The only thing they do accept is the responsibility for individualism, for self-choice is conditional on a denial of others and thus confirmation of oneself is denial of others, and only by destroying the "hell" created by others can one find the way to individual freedom. This thus implies that the result of freedom of choice is not the destruction of others but the destruction of oneself or common ruin. The true nature of Sartre's form of free choice is egotism, harming other people, and a perpetual and never-ending conflict of interests between people. This kind of freedom of choice is as incompatible with collectivism as fire and water, and runs counter to social progress, while also being extremely absurd and regressive.

### III

After the conclusion of World War II, the political and ideological contradictions between the socialist and capitalist countries of the world intensified. Some intellectuals in the West, especially some higher strata intellectuals such as Sartre, who displayed political sensitivity, found themselves having to consider and probe ideological questions. Sartre made a systematic analysis of Marxism and wrote: "I believe that Marxism represents the insurmountable philosophy of our day." However, Sartre found himself in a contradiction from which he could not tear himself free: "We are convinced that historical materialism is the only effective way to explain history, and at the same time we are also convinced that existentialism comes nearest to reality in concrete form." Sartre's determination to uphold existentialism meant that he had not correctly grasped or approached Marxism, for they are two totally different philosophies and thought systems.

Marxism holds that existence determines consciousness and that the mind is the highest form of matter. This makes existence primary to consciousness. At the same time, consciousness can accurately reflect and recognize reality and can, by means of man's subjective efforts, change reality. It is this that provides the identical nature between existence and consciousness. It was concerning this fundamental question that Sartre departed from Marxism. He believed that there were no universal laws or rules in existence concerning nature, human society, and ideological consciousness, as if this kind of law would lead to Hegel's "teleology," which held that history and matter "would mutually link up" and voluntarily achieve the aims forecast by man. He also believed that dialectical materialism made man into a "tool" of natural laws and did not make man into the master of his own actions. Thus man was unable to shake off natural ties and give any significance to anything. From this we can see that Sartre was eliminating the universal laws of dialectics while supposedly opposing "teleology." Thus his opposition to "teleology" was only an excuse to propagate capitalist class individualism. Sartre's philosophical standpoint which was in opposition to dialectical materialism was inevitably reflected in his works.

In some of his postwar works, Sartre pointedly emphasized the contradictions between the individual and the collective and between the means and the end. Even more serious was his frequent tendency to make the capitalist class the center of the self and thus various unscrupulous actions aimed at achieving individual aims often resulted in blows to members of the Communist Party. Whatever the subjective intention and desire of the author, in objective terms this represented a slight in the face of the Communist Party members and a distortion of reality.

The main character in "Les Chemins de la Liberte" leads a very ignorant life, and from beginning to end he never finds the true meaning of life. When a Communist Party member urges him to enter the party he replies: "As far as you're concerned, you first kneel and then you believe. Perhaps you are right. But as far as I am concerned, I believe first and then I kneel." As far as this individualist is concerned, the actions of this Communist Party member are by no means the result of his own choice or will, rather they are forced on him by the organization, which he simply follows blindly. The main character, however, is able to make individual choices, and in order to illustrate consistency of thought and action and be an "honest" person, he does not want to enter the party. This illustrates how he views the Communist Party through tinted glasses. In actual fact people in the Communist Party are unifiers of theory and practice and pay particular attention to the guiding role that advanced theories play in practice. They are not blindly submissive, rather they consciously implement the party's policies after fully understanding the party's intentions. In order to ensure accurate implementation of its policies and principles the Communist Party requires strict organizational discipline, which conforms with the basic interests of the proletariat. However, as far as Sartre was concerned, party members thus became "tools" of the organization or group and it seemed as if party members were not completing the tasks given them by the organization with full conviction and enthusiasm; rather, they were of a different mind and were not "sincere." Not only does this reflect how Sartre's philosophical ideas ran totally counter to Marxism, it also showed

how his political beliefs fell under anarchism and extreme individualism. He was unable to understand the nature and glorious cause of the proletariat's political party.

His play "Les Mains Sales" (1948) was thus produced on the basis of the above philosophical and ideological guideline. This play seriously distorts and twists the image of the proletariat's revolutionary political party, describing it as an evil group of murderers, thus equating the Communist Party with the political parties of the capitalist classes. It was hardly surprising that after this play was performed it was acclaimed by the anti-communist forces of the capitalist world, since it objectively conformed to the requirements of anticommunist propaganda. Later, Sartre himself was forced to admit that "Since the entire French bourgeoisie acclaimed 'Les Mains Sales' and members of the Communist Party attacked it, this proves that in actual fact an accident has occurred; in other words, the play has been objectively transformed into something anticommunist."

The thread running through this play is not a "principle" or a "line," rather it is an assassination plot done in high-sounding political phraseology, the whole thing unfolding around the struggle for leadership. Thus Sartre, posing as a "mature" insider of the Communist Party, manages to transfer, intact, the entirety of the internal factional struggles of the capitalist political parties onto the proletarian political party. The character in the play who represents the "correct line" takes great pains to help straighten out the character Hugo, saying that in order to achieve political aims one must lie, play political games, and say that "In principle I do not oppose political plotting. All political parties do this." Words such as these do not resemble anything that might come from the lips of a Communist Party leader; rather these are words more suited to capitalist class politicians. The central character also criticizes Hugo's "purity" and wants him to learn how to handle dirty business, saying that no one can seize power with innocence.

In March 1948, Sartre talked with a reporter from LE FIGARO about his intentions in writing "Les Mains Sales." He said: "Shengjusite [5110 7263 2448 3676], one of the factional leaders of the French Revolution, said: 'No one can wield political power with total innocence.' These words provided me with the theme for the play 'Les Mains Sales.'" This phrase "no one can wield political power with total innocence" was originally intended to be a summary of the power and struggle experiences of the capitalist class party factions, and for Sartre to transpose it into the political party of the proletariat represents a fundamental confusion of right and wrong. The party organizations about which Sartre wrote were all composed of people involved in political games, who would forget their integrity for material benefit, who had polluted souls, and who would do anything in order to seek political power. Within this "proletarian party," knives were flying, everyone distrusted everyone else, and plots and intrigue were rife, thus creating an atmosphere of pure terror.

All these descriptions of proletarian political parties can be said to be completely fabricated and none of them stand the test of objective facts.

In his piece entitled "On Cleansing the Party," Lenin called on party organizations to rely on the laboring masses to eradicate from within the party any Meshevik elements that might have entered in, since they were all cheaters and bureaucrats, followers of Machiavellism, and opportunists wanting to set up diplomatic relations with the capitalist classes. This illustrated that there was absolutely no place within the Communist Party for capitalist politicians. The Chinese Communist Party has also advocated the achievement of solid party unity on the basis of Marxist principles and firm opposition to actions such as scheming and splitting party unity. Among the decisions concerning party rectification outlined by the central authorities recently was the proposal to eradicate the "persons of the three categories." This represents an important measure aimed at purifying and strengthening the party ranks. All these facts illustrate that the proletarian political party is open and aboveboard, selfless, and unified, and it carries a great and glorious historical mission.

How could Sartre, who boasted that he was "following the same path" as the Communist Party, write such an "objectively anticomunist" play as "Les Mains Sales"? On the one hand it was because of his political prejudices, but a more important reason must be sought from among his existentialist philosophical beliefs. As was mentioned before, free will, central to existentialism, is based on a confirmation of the self and a denial of others. Sartre believed that when man lives in an unhindered and unfettered environment, there can be no freedom. On the other hand, when man is constrained by the environment and when he manifests a rejection of these constraints, freedom comes to him. Freedom then is the ability to say "no" to one's existential lot in life without any constraints whatsoever. Sartre believed that "truth is never beautiful. Beauty is merely a value term that can be applied to imaginary things, and in terms of the basic structure of society its significance is socially destructive." Thus, as far as Sartre was concerned freedom implies a rejection of reality. If within the capitalist society there is still some positive significance in the rejection of certain parts of reality, then the rejection of any reality in any society is simply nihilism and anarchy. Such a philosophical viewpoint as this was disproved long ago by history and reality and is not worth discussing here.

The individualistic kernel encapsulated in every developmental stage of existentialism is the destructive element in the academic image of existentialism. It was the idealist philosophical foundation, which is totally divorced from the objective world and human society, that doomed the academic image of existentialism to distortion and rejection. Sartre once said: "The history of one man's life, no matter what it is like, is always the history of failure." This history of the failure of human life is to a certain extent linked to the innately corruptive and degenerate nature of the capitalist society; hence existentialist studies can be of some use to us in understanding the capitalist society. However, existentialism overenlarges certain aspects of man's reality in the capitalist society and tends to cover up certain other aspects, taking them as the eternal reality of mankind. This is a sign of the tendency of existentialism's speculative methods to oppose science and reality and is also the fundamental reason why the academic image of existentialism always appears so gloomy.

In their article "Feuerbach," Marx and Engels wrote: "Speculation ends where real life begins. It is the place where the description of man's practical activities and real developmental processes have truly been proven to scientifically begin. Vacuous words about consciousness disappear from view and are replaced by true knowledge."<sup>4</sup> As Marxist social sciences are constantly propagated and popularized, the idealist nature and absurdity of existentialist speculative philosophy has been and will continue to be recognized for what it is, and the existentialist studies that outline the image of this philosophy will continue to lose their superficial sheen.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. "Selected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 4, p 240.
2. "Selected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 3, pp 98-99.
3. Ibid., p 554.
4. "Selected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 1, p 31.

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[Text] Western Culture Must Be Analyzed, Appraised, and Criticized With  
Marxism

(By Zhen Nan [6966 0589])

In the course of building a socialist culture with distinct Chinese features, we are faced with the question of how to correctly handle modern Western capitalist culture. The massive inflow of modern academic and cultural concepts from the West following the implementation of the correct policy of opening to the outside world and expanding cultural exchanges with foreign countries has made this question even more pointed.

There is no doubt that we should conscientiously learn from and assimilate all that is good and useful in Western culture, including advanced science, technology, methods of operation and management, and other knowledge. It is both wrong and foolish to close the country to international intercourse, to hold fast to established ideas, and to be blindly antiforeign. However, we must not go to the other extreme, that is, to blindly worship and mechanically copy things foreign, even going as far as to think that "the moon is better over foreign lands than over China." Marxism holds that a given culture is the reflection of the politics and economy of a given society in the form of concepts. Modern Western capitalist culture has come into being and developed to suit the needs of the capitalist economic base and superstructure. Except that portion which is to be classified purely as science and technology, its whole being and nature is clearly stamped with the brand of the bourgeoisie. Thus, in dealing with things that belong to the realm of Western culture, we must remain sober and persist in analyzing, appraising, and criticizing their ideological content and methods of expression with Marxism. We must adopt the dual tactics of carrying out cultural exchanges and assimilating what is truly useful in Western culture on the one hand, and opposing and resisting the inroad of bourgeois and other exploiting-class ideologies on the other. What is harmful to us should not be allowed to spread unimpeded.

More and more academic and literary works in the field of Western philosophy and social sciences have been translated and published in recent years. They contribute to broadening the horizons of the Chinese people, enabling us to acquire a better understanding of Western culture and assimilate useful knowledge and experience. They also make it possible for scholars in various specialized fields to go further into their studies and to open up new areas of research. We have done some work in reviewing and commenting on these writings, but on the whole, we have not done enough. In particular, we have not done much in applying the Marxist viewpoint in analyzing and criticizing these works. Thus, we have been unable to give readers of these books much help in distinguishing between what is right and what is wrong, what is good and what is bad. What merits special attention is that, with the endless flow of all kinds of Western academic and cultural concepts into our country, some comrades have developed a blind worship of Western culture in the new situation. For example, some of them are fond of seeking spiritual weapons from Western idealist philosophy, and take great delight in talking about bourgeois humanism, existentialism, social-Darwinism, Freudianism, and so on. Some of them mechanically copy the concept of "alienation" from Western Marxism without making any analysis, and give a distorted representation not only of certain negative phenomena found in our socialist politics, economy, and culture, but of the reforms that are now underway. Some of them, brandishing the banner of "socialist modernism," clamor that our literature and art should take the road of the Western "modernist school" and that "socialist alienation is a major theme of our literature and art creation." This trend of blindly importing and worshiping Western culture without an analytical and critical eye has brought about spiritual pollution and has tainted and corroded the minds of those people who have a low level of knowledge of Marxism-Leninism and who are not firm in their communist world outlook. This is particularly true of young people. Under such circumstances, it is necessary for us to reiterate the need to analyze, appraise, and criticize Western culture with Marxism.

We advocate that Western culture should be analyzed, appraised, and criticized. But this does not mean that we are going to embark on a "mass criticism" to indiscriminately inhibit and sweep away all foreign cultures as the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary cliques did in the past. Our present drive has a solemn and scientific content. We must thoroughly overhaul the scientific content of the analytical and critical spirit of Marxism.

The Marxist analytical and critical spirit is itself opposed to the sectarian attitude of blindly rejecting culture created by man. When the bourgeoisie attacked Marxism and branded it as "a harmful sect," Lenin gave tit for tat by pointing out that Marxism itself emerged as "the direct and immediate continuation of the teachings of the greatest representatives" of classical German philosophy, British political economy, and French socialism. He said: "There is nothing resembling 'sectarianism' in Marxism, in the sense of its being a hidebound, petrified doctrine, a doctrine which arose away from the high road of the development of world civilization." ("Collected Works of Lenin," Vol 19, p 1) A Marxist must on no account take the nihilist stand of blindly rejecting the fruits of

culture created by man, or adopt the escapist attitude of an ostrich. Instead, he should follow the example set by Marx, who "critically reshaped everything that has been created by human society, not ignoring a single point. All that had been created by human thought he reshaped, criticized, tested on the working-class movement, and drew conclusions which people restricted by bourgeois limits or bound by bourgeois prejudices could not draw." ("Selected Works of Lenin," Vol 4, p 347). In advocating the need to analyze, appraise, and criticize Western culture with Marxism, we are in fact setting forth the task to systematically, comprehensively, and thoroughly study Western culture. We want to put an end to the passive state of knowing very little and seeing only a blurred picture of Western culture. To this end, we must use the Marxist sense of judgment to discern and select scientifically.

The Marxist analytical and critical spirit also stands opposed to formalist methods that are contrary to dialectics. Comrade Mao Zedong pointed out in his analysis of the drawbacks of the May 4th Movement that "in dealing with current conditions, with history, and with things foreign," many leading figures at that time "lacked the critical spirit of historical materialism and regarded what was bad as absolutely and wholly bad and what was good as absolutely and wholly good. This formalist approach to problems affected the subsequent course of the movement." ("Selected Works of Mao Zedong," Vol 3, p 789) Here, Comrade Mao Zedong looked upon the Marxist analytical and critical spirit as the dialectical approach, that is, the basic approach to understanding everything. This approach to modern Western culture requires us to make scientific and dialectical analysis of every cultural form and trend of thought in the West in the light of the concrete historical conditions of their birth and development. We must not dismiss what is good and useful, but we also must not gloss over what is bad and pernicious. Comrade Mao Zedong once compared the critical assimilation of foreign cultures to the digestion of food. He said: We must treat everything foreign as we do our food, "first chewing it, then submitting it to the working of the stomach and intestines with their juices and secretions, and separating it into nutriment to be absorbed and waste matter to be discarded, before it can nourish us." ("Selected Works of Mao Zedong," Vol 2, p 667) This figurative analogy, which clearly tells us that we must adopt a dialectical and scientific attitude toward foreign cultures, is still a source of profound enlightenment to us. Today, our general guiding ideology in relation to Western culture is still one of discarding the dross and selecting the essential. We must make good use of our healthy stomach to absorb all nutriment and discard all waste matter in Western culture, and produce our own healthy cultural organism by getting rid of the stale and taking in the fresh.

It is an arduous and complicated task to analyze, appraise, and criticize ideological trends and writings in Western culture. We must apply the Marxist stand, viewpoint, and method, and do a lot of painstaking research work. We must appropriately affirm, assimilate, and take over what is of scientific value and may be of use to us in Western works. On the other hand, we must point out and reject accordingly what is erroneous, reactionary, and decadent. There are some points of view which may seem

incorrect now but had played a progressive role in history. Toward these, we should make an analysis and give explanations based on the facts of history. We must truly present the facts and convince people by reasoning so that those criticized by us would not feel that we have distorted their meaning or treated them high-handedly. In this respect, the scientific spirit displayed by the founders of Marxism will always be an example for us to learn from. In the course of founding the Marxist doctrine, Marx and Engels critically examined and assimilated all the fruits of science that had been created in the history of mankind. Marx aptly affirmed everything which he considered to be of value in other people's writings, including the works of bourgeois scholars. When he came across ideas which he thought should be negated and discarded, he would analyze them bit by bit and give proofs to show that they were wrong. We should properly learn from Marx this scientific attitude and method.

In short, we must unswervingly implement the policy of opening to the outside world and carry out cultural exchanges with foreign countries, but in the course of exchange activities, we must persist in analyzing, appraising, and criticizing Western capitalist culture with Marxism. We must do a positive job of reviewing Western academic works and literature and art so as to help the readers distinguish between right and wrong, raise their understanding, strengthen their belief in Marxism and in socialism, and resist the corrosive influence of decadent foreign ideology. In doing their job, we must learn from past experience and lessons and avoid two deviations: One is to worship blindly and copy mechanically; the other is to negate everything oversimplistically and crudely. As long as our guiding ideology is correct and our method is on the right track, we will definitely be able to find a new experience that will enable us to widely assimilate the quintessence of Western capitalist culture and ideology while discarding the dross and steering clear of the pollution of the decadent ideas of the exploiting classes. This will promote the building of socialist spiritual civilization in our country and will lead to the blossoming of socialist culture with distinctive Chinese features in the treasure-house of world culture.

#### Unfolding Criticism and Self-Criticism Is the Chief Way To Overcome Confusion on the Ideological Front

(By Zhang Xuedong [1728 1331 2639])

In 1981, Comrade Deng Xiaoping made the call to correctly unfold criticism and self-criticism to counter problems that existed on the ideological front, especially the literature and art front. The theoretical and literature and art circles have, since then, unfolded Marxist criticism on certain erroneous tendencies and have achieved some results in this connection, but the results are not remarkable enough on the whole. The main trend in the theoretical and literature and art circles is good, or relatively good, and great achievements have been made in these fields. However, there are still a small number of people who spread erroneous remarks, publish harmful works, and vulgar performances. This has given rise to ideological confusion and spiritual pollution among the masses, particularly among the young people.

There is a lack of forceful criticism on these phenomena. Some comrades are liberal in their attitude. While they know perfectly well that something is wrong, they are unwilling or afraid to carry out criticism because they do not want to hurt other people's feelings. Some comrades fail to see the harm of erroneous words or deeds, and even consider these to be expressions of liveliness. Resistance to criticism is still very strong. Criticism, which does not come too often or too strongly to begin with, is often described as "encirclement" or "using the big stick." It was precisely with this confusion on the ideological front in mind that Comrade Deng Xiaoping pointed out once again at the 2d Plenary Session of the 12th CPC Central Committee that we must strengthen the party's leadership over the ideological front and put an end to the state of weakness and laxness. The chief method to overcome confusion on the ideological front remains the same as before, which is, to unfold criticism and self-criticism.

Why do we say that unfolding criticism and self-criticism is the chief method to overcome confusion on the ideological front?

First, this is determined by the nature of the problems on the ideological front. It is true that there is serious confusion on the ideological front in recent years and some of the erroneous remarks are very harmful because they are under the influence of bourgeois thinking. However, those who expressed these erroneous viewpoints are, after all, our own comrades. Their mistake is a matter of ideology and understanding. This is not quite the same thing as criminal or economic offenses. In handling ideological problems we must rely on persuasion and education, not coercion and repression. Otherwise we would be confusing the two different types of contradictions. Comrade Mao Zedong said as early as 1957: "The only way to settle questions of an ideological nature or controversial issues among the people is by the democratic method, the method of discussion, criticism, persuasion and education, and not by the method of coercion or repression." ("On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People") Positive and negative experience over the years shows that we must adopt the method of carrying out criticism and self-criticism in a gentle and mild manner and in the spirit of seeking truth from facts, for this alone is the most reliable and effective method of settling problems of ideology and understanding among the people.

Second, this is determined by the law and characteristics of ideology and understanding. People's ideological viewpoints are usually shaped over a long period of thinking and study. Even when we accept other people's ideas, we still use our own thinking and make our own appraisal in the light of our experience and understanding. Thus, in settling problems in a person's ideology and understanding, we must present the facts and reason things out. But the person concerned must also make comparisons and appraisals and think things through. Only when he has gained a clear understanding of what was wrong with the way he thought can he discard his old ideas and accept new ones. This takes time. It is precisely because of this law which governs the settling of problems of ideology and understanding that we must conduct patient and meticulous ideological work among comrades who are wrong in their thinking and understanding. If these people

fail to come round after criticism, we must wait patiently and continue to help them enthusiastically. The crux of the matter is that we must strive to improve the quality of criticism. Only criticism of a high quality can be readily accepted by those criticized. Besides, this kind of criticism will enable the broad masses of people to distinguish between right and wrong and grasp correct viewpoints. In this way, erroneous ideas will naturally lose their audience. Thus, even if individual comrades still have not come to their senses, they cannot do much harm.

On the matter of unfolding criticism and self-criticism, we have had our successful experience, but we have also made mistakes and learned a serious lesson. The "leftist" practices of raising a hue and cry, exaggerating the mistakes of others to the maximum, and criticizing and attacking people at random have done us great harm. We must not repeat the same mistakes again. However, we must by no means give up eating for fear of choking. If we show resentment, rejection, and opposition every time we hear the call to unfold criticism and self-criticism and to carry out proper ideological struggle, we are bound to deviate from Marxism and from the four basic principles. Comrade Deng Xiaoping pointed out: "We must be particular and tactful about the method of criticism and must not resort to encirclement or political movements. However, it will not do to give up on ideological work or on criticism and self-criticism. The weapon of criticism should never be discarded." ("Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping," p 345)

A summary of our experience over the years shows that for criticism to yield the best result, we must have an all-round and thorough understanding of the subject of criticism. We must subjectively proceed from the desire to seek unity. We must pay attention to the method and quality of criticism and be fair and reasonable in our approach. This is what we should do in our criticism of humanism and the question of alienation. Comrade Hu Qiaomu's article "On Humanism and the Question of Alienation," in particular, is of a very high standard. It shows thorough investigation and study on the subject of criticism. Its arguments are penetrating and the tone is sincere and comradely. Thus, it has produced a profound and good effect on the masses and has effectively clarified erroneous views on these questions.

In order to correctly unfold criticism and self-criticism, we must also understand the relationship between them. Criticism and self-criticism are two sides of the same coin. They are unified and complementary. On the one hand, criticism cannot be separated from self-criticism. According to the law that governs ideology and understanding, the formation or change of an idea rests on oneself in the final analysis. In this sense, criticism is the external factor while self-criticism is the internal factor. The external factor functions through the internal factor. If we only make criticism but do not make self-criticism, we will not be able to achieve the goal of rectifying mistakes. Thus, we must pay attention to the effect of criticism and see to it that our criticism can be readily accepted by those criticized. In this way, we can create the necessary conditions for the erring comrades to make self-criticism. On the other hand, self-criticism cannot be separated from criticism. As the saying goes "the spectators see the chess game better than the players." Comrades who have

erred on matters of ideology and understanding often have difficulty seeing their own mistakes. They need to hear the critical comments of their comrades. Thus, all erring comrades who wish to know and to rectify their own mistakes should humbly listen to the opinions of others and accept criticism. They must "readily accept good advice" and "be glad to have their errors pointed out." They must not conceal their own faults for fear of criticism, or show resentment, even fly into a rage when they are being criticized. We must, as Comrade Chen Yun said, concern ourselves with the truth rather than our reputation, and must actively make self-criticism as soon as we come round in our understanding. We should extend a welcome to those comrades who have made self-criticism and should not keep picking on them. Of course we may continue to help them if their self-criticism is not good enough. In making criticism and self-criticism, we must take the Marxist stand and must uphold and carry forward the party's fine traditions. Provided that we correctly unfold criticism and self-criticism, we can overcome confusion on the ideological front and achieve greater successes in our theoretical and literature and art work.

CSO: 4004/79

DARING TO BE 'RELENTLESS' AND BEING 'STRICT' ON ONESELF

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 10, 16 May 84 p 33

[Article by Xiao Lin [1420 2651] and Man Yuan [3341 0337]--originally carried by QIUSHI [3061 1395] No 4, 1984, published by the party school of Jiangxi Provincial CPC Committee]

[Text] We all agree that in order to improve the party style and to foster wholesome practices and eliminate evil ones, we must dare to be "relentless." That is to say, we must dare to take action when "officers" violate discipline, dare to expose when our friends violate discipline, and dare to mete out punishment when our relatives violate discipline. However, we must be strict on ourselves before we can truly be "relentless."

At present, some comrades appear to be very high-sounding and vigorous in their criticism of unhealthy tendencies, but once they come across "tough" people and cases, they melt "like a snow Buddha under the sun." This is because they are not "strict" on themselves.

Stalin used to say that communists "are made of a special material." Special material should have a special "toughness," but it must be "pure" before it can be "tough." One must preserve the purity of one's style and character. Of course "purity" is not something innate. We must constantly strengthen self-cultivation and boldly examine ourselves. As in the case of smelting steel, we must promptly remove impurities and subject ourselves to all kinds of tempering. In this way, we can acquire a high degree of "purity" as well as "toughness." With this "toughness," we can truly be "relentless" and produce "applauses" of success.

CSO: 4004/78

HAVE A CORRECT UNDERSTANDING AND ATTITUDE TOWARD PEASANTS WHO HAVE BECOME WELL-OFF BEFORE OTHERS--UNDERSTANDING GAINED BY STUDYING THE 'SELECTED WORKS OF DENG XIAOPING'

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 10, 16 May 84 pp 34-37

[Article by Dong Jichang [5516 4949 2490], secretary of the Shaanxi Provincial CPC Committee]

[Text] Allowing a Section of People To Become Well-Off Before Others Is a Correct Policy of Implementing Distribution According to Work Done and Achieving Common Prosperity

The policy of allowing a section of people to become well-off before others is a policy of fundamental importance, which was put forward by Comrade Deng Xiaoping in the course of the whole party putting things to rights and bringing about a great turning point in history. Owing to the erroneous "leftist" influence, coupled with the sabotage wreaked by Lin Biao and the "gang of four," some fundamental theoretical and policy definitions have been confused for quite some time. Prosperity was equated with capitalism at one time and hence there emerged an ideological trend of pathological fear of prosperity. Many places endeavored to prevent the peasants from getting rich ideologically and in terms of policies and measures and the enthusiasm of the masses of peasants for production was thus tremendously dampened. This led to the situation in which the question of the peasants having enough to eat and wear in many localities remained unsettled over a long period of time and the rural economy developed haltingly. After the smashing of the "gang of four," Comrade Deng Xiaoping summed up historical experience and lessons and pointed out in a clear-cut way: "According to our economic policy, we should allow some localities, enterprises, and workers and peasants to increase their incomes and improve their livelihood earlier than others through their hard work and their greater success. The fact that some people improve their livelihood first will play a great exemplary role and influence other people around them. They will bring along other localities and units so that they can learn from the advanced. In so doing, the entire national economy will progress in a series of waves and people of various nationalities throughout the country will get rich faster." "This is a great policy, a policy which will affect and bring along the entire national economy. I suggest that comrades concerned conscientiously consider and study it." ("Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping,"

p 142; page numbers only will be given for the following quotations from this work) "The great policy" was formulated by using Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought. The practice of the new situation in the rural areas created since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee has proved this policy correct and scientific. The continued and overall implementation of this policy is of great and immediate significance to understanding and solving the new situations and new problems confronting the Chinese countryside at present, rejuvenating the rural economy in an overall manner, and building a socialist countryside with Chinese characteristics.

The policy of allowing a section of people to become well-off before others has many advantages, and above all it is conducive to the implementation of the principle of from each according to his ability, to each according to his work. Ours is a country with a vast territory. The different historical, natural, and economic conditions of various localities are bound to bring about differences in production incomes. Even in a locality with the same production conditions, the different operational and managerial levels of different production units will result in different economic results. Therefore differences in the distribution of incomes among different production units are allowed. This conforms to the principle of to each according to his ability, to each according to his work. Just as Comrade Deng Xiaoping pointed out: "We advocate the principle of distribution according to work done and according to this principle, individuals and units who have made outstanding contributions must be given both spiritual and material rewards. We also encourage a section of people and places to become well-off before others under the principle of more pay for more work." (p 222) Distribution according to work done means distribution of personal consumer goods according to the quantity and quality of labor which working people have contributed to society. With the differences in physical strength, technical level, operational capacity, and subjective efforts of working people, the differences in their incomes are therefore inevitable. Only when we act according to the principle of distribution according to work done and lead the masses in basing their prosperity on hard work and encourage them to become well-off through hard work can we arouse the enthusiasm of the masses of peasants for labor and promote the development of the productive forces.

The implementation of the policy of allowing a section of people to become well-off before others is also conducive to achieve the goal of common prosperity. Common prosperity does not necessarily mean simultaneous prosperity. On the road to common prosperity, some people are bound to get rich earlier and some later. During this course, there will always be some people and localities who become well-off before others, and they will bring along those who become well-off later, and then the latter will catch up with and even surpass the former. Hence the whole population will progress to common prosperity in a series of waves. Allowing a section of people to become well-off before others and common prosperity are dialectical and unified. Allowing a section of people to become well-off before others is the only way to common prosperity and common prosperity is the inevitable outcome of implementing the policy of allowing a section of people to become well-off before others. Allowing or not allowing a section of people to

become well-off before others is, in essence, a question of whether we seek genuine common prosperity or sham common prosperity. If the previous "leftist" things are repeated and people are prevented from becoming well-off through hard work in many ways, that means sham common prosperity. If genuine common prosperity is to be really achieved, we must allow and encourage a section of people to become well-off before others so that they can influence other people around them and bring along other localities and units, promote the development of the productive forces, and create conditions for achieving common prosperity. This point has been proved by practice. Since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, in the rural areas of Shaanxi Province, like the countryside all over the country, the specialized and key households which became well-off before others have developed vigorously. In 1982, the number of "two households" [specialized and key households] throughout the province totaled 389,000, comprising 7.6 percent of the total number of households and in 1983, the number jumped to more than 550,000, constituting about 11 percent of the total number of households, and moreover, the number of economic combines of various types was 17,000 or more. In some places, there have emerged a number of villages specializing in a certain industry. With the "two households" which have become well-off before others taking the lead, commercial production in the rural areas all over the province has developed vigorously, farm produce and sideline products on the market have increased remarkably in quantity, the urban and rural economies have become livelier and more prosperous, and there has been a general increase in the peasants' incomes.

#### Specialized Households Are the Representatives of the New Rising Productive Forces

With the introduction of the output-related contract responsibility system, there have emerged specialized households which take the lead in becoming well-off through hard work, developing commodity production, and improving production techniques. They are new things in the development of the rural economy. What are the characteristics of these specialized households?

First, they are the representatives of the new, advanced rural productive forces in China's new period. They inherit and develop traditional skills on the one hand and are enthusiastic in studying modern science and technology on the other. They are the most active elements who are good at combining various production factors and promoters in developing the productive forces who are cultured, skilled, and economically minded. They manage to buy equipment within their power to increase labor productivity; to rationally utilize natural resources in agriculture so that land can be turned to good account; to fully utilize labor resources so that human talents can be turned to good account; and to effectively save production expenses so that material resources can be turned to good account. Therefore, helping sustain and develop specialized households means helping sustain and develop the rural productive forces. With the smashing by specialized households of the state of self-sufficiency, the operations of specialized households distinctly bear the nature of commodity production both in operational thinking and mode. Specialized households are, in other

words, producers of commodities. The development of specialized households is conducive to putting the rural economy into the orbit of commodity production. In order to increase production output by a big margin and improve quality, specialized households urgently need science and technology and the high productivity, commodity rate, and efficiency they achieved by the use of science and technology play, in return, a vivid and exemplary role in the masses around them. Therefore, they are models who take the lead in studying and using science in the countryside and also the "setters" or "demonstration households" in popularizing the use of science and technology. For this reason, the development of specialized households will give a tremendous impetus to the change from a traditional agriculture to a modern agriculture.

Second, specialized households are new in representing the current new trend of the development of our agricultural production toward specialization and socialization. Practice has proved that there are no prospects for a "small and all-inclusive" natural economy and that the only feasible direction of development is specialization and socialization. How can we develop our agricultural production in this direction? A new way that we have already found in order to achieve this goal is to vigorously support the development of our specialized households. The specialized households that have recently emerged in Shaanxi Province vary in many ways in their forms, but they all have the common characteristics of being "small and specialized." This kind of specialized household that has been developed from the "small and all-inclusive" economy and that is characterized by being "small and specialized" embodies the new development of the social division of labor in our rural economy and the new trend of the specialization and socialization of production. It is linked with the magnificent prospects of modern agriculture and is the foundation of the specialization and socialization of our agricultural production. The development of our specialized households and the heightening of the degree of their specialization will certainly further promote the development of labor inside a trade and between trades and the cooperation and combinations among them. This will gradually create a fine condition for the realization of the modernization of our agriculture.

Third, specialized households are new in opening up new paths for the all-round development of our rural economy. The emergence and development of specialized households has facilitated both tapping the potential to develop the quality of our production and finding new ways to develop the range of our production; has both increased the amount of products in our society and changed the economic structure of our agriculture; and has not only promoted the all-round development of agriculture, forestry, animal husbandry, sideline undertakings and forestry, but has also urged our processing and transport undertakings and commercial service to develop one after another. The output value of sideline industrial undertakings in Gan County, Shaanxi Province, has risen 12 times in 5 years and now accounts for 51.9 percent of the county's gross agricultural output value. More than half of the former output value has been produced by contracted specialized households and the rest of it was earned by individually run specialized households and the family sideline undertakings of the commune members there. Facts have

proved that the development of specialized households and the all-round development of rural economy interact and promote each other. The development of specialized households creates conditions for breaking the narrow scope of rural production and economy, while the all-round development of agricultural production and rural economy has opened broader scope for the development of our specialized households' production.

Fourth, our specialized households are new in having the new thoughts and morality of the new type of socialist peasants of the 1980's. Generally speaking, the peasants in these households surpass other peasants in their labor intensity and hardworking spirit. They conscientiously learn and popularize science and technology and have broken the limitations of the older generation of peasants. They are engaged in commodity production, have a broad field of vision and a sense of economics, and have broken away from our peasants' previous conservativeness. They support rural economic reform and the party's current policies, observe discipline and law, obey the direction of state plans, and have relatively high ideological and political awareness. Among them have emerged a number of model workers who have taken the lead in building socialist spiritual civilization and who, after becoming rich, do not forget their duties to make more contributions to the state, to help the poor and to take the lead in bringing along all peasants to become rich together.

#### We Should Remove Several Kinds of Uncalled-for Doubts

At present, we have failed to sufficiently emancipate our minds. This is shown in the attitude toward that section of peasants who have become rich earlier than others. In the minds of some people, the impact of leftism is deep-rooted. These people have an ingrained trend of egalitarianism so that they hate the rich and love the poor and always doubt the socialist nature of the specialized households that have become rich earlier than others. The socialist nature of an economic form is not determined by its form of labor but is mainly determined by the form of the ownership of the means of production and the form of distribution of products. Public ownership and distribution according to labor are the basic economic characteristics of socialism and are the main signs of the socialist nature. There are two forms of specialized households: contracted specialized households and individually run specialized households.

The basic production materials of contracted specialized households belong to the collective, and part of their products and income will be delivered to the collective. The collective economy will directly or indirectly control all the activities of contracted specialized households. Therefore, contracted specialized households are an operational structure of the cooperative economy and are undoubtedly socialist in nature. Most of the individually run specialized households cultivate land on a contract basis and have close ties with the collective economy. They do not exclusively belong to the individual economy. They have emerged from carrying out family sideline production and are conducting their activities under the socialist production system. Both their production and circulation process rely on and are subordinate to the socialist economy. Individually run

specialized households are an indispensable supplement to the socialist economy. Therefore, we should resolutely and boldly support the development of specialized households.

Some people are afraid that supporting specialized households in becoming better-off will affect the development of the collective economy. It is necessary to dispel such misgivings. Comrade Deng Xiaoping pointed out: "Our general target is to develop the collective economy." "The crux lies in developing the productive forces. It is necessary to create conditions for the further development of collectivization." (p 275) It is necessary to persist in the cooperative economy, but the scale, management system, and operational methods of the cooperative economy should be determined according to the development of the productive forces. In persisting in the cooperative economy, we should not follow the old pattern of exercising excessively centralized management. Contrary to this, we should resolutely reform the old economic patterns which hamper the development of the productive forces. We should establish various cooperative economic forms according to the development of the productive forces and on different scales. Such cooperative economic forms "will not be established by the higher authorities or by administrative orders. They are inevitable needs which arise following the development of production." (p 276) Following the emergence and development of specialized households, the practices of "swarming for a job" and "eating from the same big pot" carried out by regional cooperative economic organizations in the past will certainly disappear, and the functions of these cooperative economic organizations will gradually shift to coordinating the relationships among specialized households and to coordinating the relationships between specialized households and other operational forms and structures according to the needs for specialization, socialization, and increasing the percentage of marketable agricultural products. Only when the collective economy has such economic functions, can it be consolidated and can it develop from a lower level to a higher level.

Some other people are afraid that supporting specialized households in becoming better-off will bring about "two opposing groups" among the peasants. Such a worry is unnecessary. According to the Marxist viewpoint, "two opposing groups" emerge on the basis of private ownership and when commodity producers are controlled by the law of value and the law of competition. One of the groups is composed of a few capitalists who have accumulated wealth and exploit others by owning the means of production; the other group is composed of a large number of poverty-stricken workers, who do not own the means of production. It is obvious that "two opposing groups" are the products of private ownership of the means of production. In China's countryside, the means of production such as land are the collective property of the peasants, and the principle in effect is to each according to his work. It is normal that some peasants will become better-off ahead of others, and this is fundamentally different from the emergence of "two opposing groups." The changes in the countryside since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee indicate that the fact that specialized households have become better-off ahead of others has greatly aroused the interest of the peasants. As a result, a situation has

emerged in which "one hundred households will follow when one household becomes better-off."

Some of our comrades cast doubts on the path some peasants take in becoming better-off. The cause for this is that they do not have a clear understanding of the nature of becoming better-off through hard work and that they do not fully understand the content of labor. In fact, the word "hard" includes not only to be willing to perspire, but also to be good at studying science and technology, at obtaining information, and at reforming management methods. The word "work" includes carrying out production, circulation, and management, and all social labor needed for scientific and technological study. With this clear understanding, we can avoid excluding specialized households engaged in transportation and marketing and specialized households carrying out scientific and technological experiments from households which can become better-off through hard work. Some people are still influenced by the prejudice of paying attention only to agriculture to the neglect of commerce and by the theory of the self-supporting natural economy. They lack a correct understanding of the changes which are taking place in the rural economy and therefore look down upon persons who carry out commercial work. For a long time after the founding of the PRC, the peasants were allowed only to go in for agricultural production. If a peasant engaged in other trades, especially in transportation and marketing, he would be criticized as a person who "abandoned agriculture for commerce," who "carried out speculation and profiteering," and who took the capitalist road. As a result, the road to becoming better-off was blocked. This violated socialist economic law. China's rural economy nowadays does not merely cover agricultural activities. It covers the overall development of agriculture, forestry, animal husbandry, sideline production, and fishery, and the comprehensive operation of agriculture, industry, and commerce. We should free ourselves from the trammels of "leftist" ideology and fully understand the changes which are taking place in the rural economy. Some people fail to differentiate between principal and secondary aspects. The principal aspect of the peasants who have become better-off ahead of others is good. The majority of these peasants are carrying out production and operational activities within the limits of the state policy, under the guidance of the state plan, and by adhering to socialist public ownership. Only a small number of them are carrying out illegal activities and engaging in dishonest practices. This is, after all, a secondary aspect, which should not be regarded as the principal one. Problems will certainly arise in the emergence and development of specialized households which are allowed to become better-off ahead of others. These problems will be correctly solved in line with the party policy so as to enable specialized households to develop healthily along the socialist road.

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SEVERAL POINTS OF UNDERSTANDING ABOUT THE SOCIALIST SYSTEM IN OUR COUNTRY

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 10, 16 May 84 pp 38-43

[Article by Su Xing [5685 2502]]

[Text]

I

In 1956, the Eighth CPC National Congress pointed out that our country has basically established the socialist system and entered the socialist society.

The socialist society is a brand-new one for which neither Marx, Engels, nor Lenin designed a ready-made pattern.

Both Marx and Engels had a lot of brilliant foresight on socialism and communism. They drew their inevitable conclusions from studying the economic laws governing capitalism. They analyzed the basic contradiction of the capitalist system, namely, the contradiction between the socialization of production and private ownership by the capitalists, and they advanced the theory of abolishing private ownership and establishing public ownership of the means of production. They analyzed the specific manifestation of this contradiction, namely, the contradiction between organized production in individual enterprises and anarchism in social production, and they advanced the theory of eliminating capitalist competition and anarchism and consciously regulating social production according to plans so that it can develop in proportion. They analyzed another manifestation of this contradiction, namely, the contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, and they advanced the theory of eliminating exploitation, jointly owning social products, and carrying out distribution according to work or need. In the meantime, they held that after the establishment of public ownership of the means of production, the contradiction between private and social labor would no longer exist and commodity currency would also fade.

In 1875, proceeding from the fact that communism emerges from the womb of capitalism, Marx divided communist society into two different stages of maturity, holding that socialist society is the lower stage of communism.

With the exception of one or two questions (such as the nonexistence of commodity production) that have been negated by later practice, these basic

principles advanced by Marx and Engels are still correct from the present point of view. As great thinkers with a rigorous scientific approach, Marx and Engels did not advance more tentative ideas for the future society in specific terms. They held that future problems should be solved by those who directly engage in socialist and communist practice.

Lenin personally founded the first socialist republic. At the victory of the revolution he pointed out: "The times have passed, and in Russia, I am sure, have passed beyond recall, when we used to argue about the socialist program on the basis of book knowledge." ("Complete Works of Lenin," Vol 27, p 480) Lenin himself behaved exactly that way; for example, his attitude toward commodity currency. Before the October Revolution, Lenin also accepted the view that commodity currency no longer exists in a socialist society. However, after the October Revolution, Lenin was confronted with a reality that was much more complicated than Marx or Engels had imagined. On this question, Lenin did not rigidly adhere to ready-made conclusions, but gradually sought new conclusions by proceeding from reality and through practice. During the period of "wartime communism," Lenin once considered the question of replacing trade with planned distribution of products and abolishing currency; in the initial period of the "new economic policy," he advocated commodity exchange without the use of currency. All this showed that he had not discarded the traditional viewpoints. However, these experiments were not successful. In the second half of 1921, Lenin explicitly announced that commodity exchange without the use of currency had failed and that it was necessary to be resolute in returning to commercial readjustment and currency circulation. In this sense Lenin carried forward Marx' theory on socialism. In the history of Marxist political economy, Lenin was undoubtedly a founder who affirmed the existence of commodity currency in a socialist society.

The question now is whether or not our socialist system conforms to the basic principles advocated by Marx. I think it does.

1. The basis of our socioeconomic system is socialist public ownership of the means of production; that is, ownership of the means of production by the whole people and collective ownership of the means of production by the laboring people. The state economy under ownership by the whole people is the leading force in the national economy. Although a portion of the individual economy and other nonsocialist economic forms exist in our country, they do not affect the social character. Marx and Engels once entertained the idea of establishing a unitary system of socialist ownership, but they never regarded it as a rigid formula, still less as an indication of whether a state has entered a socialist society. In his article "The Principles of Communism," Engels long ago held that the elimination of private ownership is a process of gradual transformation. At present we are still not in a position to assume that a country can realize a unitary system of ownership by the whole people immediately after the socialist revolution. Judging from the socialist countries that have been established so far, no country, regardless of the length of its history, has completely eliminated the individual and other nonsocialist economic forms. The transformation of private ownership of the means of production in our country was

accomplished gradually and was, therefore, fairly successful. It was precisely due to this success that we one-sidedly exaggerated the role of transforming ownership. In addition to that, due to our misunderstanding and dogmatization of certain ideas and theses in Marxist-Leninist works, after the basic completion of the socialist transformation we continued to seek "a larger size" and "a higher degree of public ownership" regardless of the productive forces, and set up the people's communes when the advanced agricultural producers' cooperatives had not been consolidated. We were even so impatient that we made a transition from collective ownership to ownership by the whole people. We had intended to develop the productive forces, but had undermined them instead. Practice proves that it is detrimental to socialist construction if we are impatient to eliminate all non-socialist economic forms and to seek a unitary form of ownership by the whole people when the level of development of the productive forces is relatively low and uneven.

In our country, the existence of different economic forms with the socialist state sector occupying the leading position will continue for a long time to come. The development of various forms of cooperative and individual economy can not only make up for the deficiencies of the state economy, but can also promote the swift development of the entire national economy.

2. We have eliminated the exploiting system in our country and have realized the principle of distribution according to work in the socialist economy. Distribution according to work is the embodiment of public ownership of the means of production and the negation of the capitalist distribution system. Under the capitalist system, the workers only get wages equal to the value of their labor while the surplus value is gratuitously owned by the capitalists. There, the difference in wage reflects the difference in the value of labor, and this is not a system of distribution according to work. All workers, whether "blue collar" or "white collar," are employed by capitalists. Distribution according to work is based on public ownership of the means of production and products. Before distribution according to work is carried out, it is also necessary to deduct from social products certain funds for expanded production and social consumption. However, "what is withheld from the producer as an individual will also be used directly or indirectly to pursue the well-being of the producer in his capacity as a member of society." ("Selected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 3, p 10)

Due to the existence of the individual and other nonsocialist economic forms in our country, the phenomena of relying on the means of production to possess the products of labor will inevitably emerge in the society. However, the principle of distribution occupying a leading position is still that of distribution according to work.

3. Our national economy is a planned one. The entire national economy develops proportionally under the guidance of unified planning. Planning is not unique to a socialist economy. In a society based on private ownership of the means of production, various economic units generally have different degrees of planning. However, once they go beyond this scope,

they do not come under the restraint of planning. Therefore, although capitalist countries also formulate some plans and attain certain results, it is impossible for their economy to become a planned economy. The socialist economy is based on public ownership of the means of production and the state sector occupies a leading position in the whole of the national economy. The planned (proportionate) development of the national economy is an objective demand and is provided with the conditions for its realization. State planning has different degrees of binding force over the production, distribution, and circulation of enterprises, departments, and regions. This is what we usually call regulation by market mechanism. The principle of the leading role of the planned economy and the supplementary role of regulation by market mechanism is a long-term principle for guiding the development of China's national economy. It is also a correct principle.

The above refer to economic characteristics. The superstructure of our country, which is suited to the economic base, is also socialist in nature. Therefore, we can fully affirm that the present society in our country is a socialist one, which conforms to the basic principles of scientific socialism and is provided with Chinese characteristics.

## II

Marx said: "A social order never perishes before all the productive forces for which it is broadly sufficient have been developed, and new superior relations of production never replace older ones before the material conditions for their existence have matured within the womb of the old society." ("Selected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 2, p 83) In examining the emergence of the socialist system in our country, we should also apply this principle. The level of the productive forces in old China was very low, but the minimum material conditions for the emergence of socialism had taken shape. This found concentrated expressions in the following: Over the past century China's national capital had developed considerably; the bureaucratic capital that was attached to imperialism, that is, the state monopoly capital, reached the peak of development after World War II. The big industrial enterprises, transport, and communications run by them had prepared the material conditions for the emergence of socialism. With such conditions it was possible for our society to accomplish a transformation from new democracy to socialism in a relatively short time.

Some comrades said that the level of the productive forces in old China was so low that capitalism should not have been eliminated prematurely. Some even said that it is still necessary to "make up for the lesson of capitalism" today. This view does not conform to reality. As we all know, our democratic revolution was not an ordinary bourgeois revolution, but a new democratic revolution under the leadership of the proletariat. In the initial period after the founding of the PRC, we established the people's democratic dictatorship under the leadership of the working class based upon the alliance of workers and peasants and, on the basis of confiscating bureaucrat capital, set up a powerful socialist state sector of the economy. The socialist economy is the most advanced economic form and it displayed its superiority at that time. In order to further liberate the productive

forces and to shake off poverty and backwardness, China could only make a transition toward socialism. Other choices were impossible. In fact, after the founding of the PRC, the capitalist and individual economy began to make a transition toward socialism. Take the capitalist sector for example. After stabilizing commodity prices in 1950, orders placed by the state with private enterprises for processing materials or supplying manufactured goods were expanded through the readjustment of industry and commerce. After the movement against the "five evils" in 1952, joint state-private ownership was expanded, and the state monopoly for the purchase and marketing of grains and other farm products in 1953 further quickened the process of transformation. Thus, by 1955 the output value of the joint state-private industrial enterprises had reached some 70 percent of the output value of both the joint and private enterprises. During the upsurge of socialist transformation of the capitalist industry and commerce, we chiefly solved the problem of the remaining 30 percent of medium-sized and small enterprises. In the course of the transformation we also had some shortcomings, such as excessive scale of joint state-private ownership, excessive reorganization carried out after joint operation, excessive determination of private personnel, and so on. Generally speaking, however, the transformation was successful, although there had been no precedent in the history of the development of world socialism. The socialist transformation of the individual economy of peasants and handcraftsmen started a little earlier. Unlike the Soviet Union, in the course of the revolutionary wars, which lasted 22 years, the base areas and the liberated areas had accumulated fairly rich experience by gradually developing mutual aid and cooperation in agricultural production. Consequently, after the completion of the agrarian revolution, the peasants immediately embarked on the road of agricultural cooperation. Generally speaking our agricultural cooperation was carried out fairly smoothly. Agricultural production did not drop but increased. The shortcomings were that we were overly hasty at a latter time and that the form was too simple, thus affecting the initiative of the vast numbers of peasants.

As for the argument about whether it was possible to preserve the capitalist economic sector for a longer time during the transition period in order to bring its positive role to the full, this can naturally be explored as historical experience. But often than not this is also independent of man's will. After the October Revolution the Soviet Union also planned to practice state capitalism for a time, but the capitalists refused to do so. In 1918 the Soviet Union had to wipe out capital with the Red Guards. China's national capitalists were different from the Russian capitalists and our party adopted the policy of utilizing, restricting, and transforming the national industry and commerce. Consequently, the socialist transformation of the capitalist private ownership in our country took a much longer time than in the Soviet Union. It took 7 years to complete the transformation basically and 17 years to abolish fixed interest. Normally this could not be regarded as a short time. Our chief problem did not lie in the period of socialist transformation, but rather after the basic completion of the transformation. At that time, under the guidance of erroneous "leftist" ideology, we changed the ownership of the means of production too anxiously and frequently and made another "poor transition" during the "Cultural

Revolution." This policy which obviously ran counter to objective economic law, has been subjected to punishment in practical life.

Since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, we have been rectifying a series of "leftist" urban and rural economic policies and the policies of class struggle implemented after the completion of the socialist transformation, particularly during the "Cultural Revolution." (Naturally, the errors during the socialist transformation should also be corrected.) At the same time, we have fully affirmed the socialist transformation of private ownership of the means of production, holding that the general line during the transitional period that guided this great transformation "reflected the historical necessity" and "was entirely correct." In recent years, on the basis of consolidating the public ownership of the means of production, we have carried out extensive reform on the management system in the country and in towns to attain notable results. In particular, after the extensive implementation of the system of contracted responsibilities with payment linked to output, great changes, which have become the focus of world attention, have taken place in the rural areas. Carrying out reform is necessary to readjust certain links in the production relations and the superstructure so that they conform to the development of the productive forces. In the final analysis, this is aimed at consolidating and developing the socialist system. However, due to the lack of correct understanding about these reforms, some comrades have some misunderstanding. They suspect that our policies have deviated from the "socialist course" and even regard the reforms as an attempt to "make up for the lesson in capitalism." These views, which still reflect the influence of "leftist" ideology, are incorrect.

### III

China's socialist system displayed its superiority immediately after its establishment. In the 1950's, all people sang the praise of socialism from the bottom of their hearts. Since the 1950's, however, we have suffered two major setbacks. One was the difficulties brought about by the "Great Leap Forward," and the other was the heavy losses caused to the national economy by the "Cultural Revolution." During this period many countries and regions in the world were in the ascendant economically. This has resulted in making our backward economy more backward in numerous respects. Due to the widening of the gap and the lack of understanding about the nature of capitalist countries, some comrades have been misled by certain superficial phenomena. They waver in their confidence in socialism and even think that socialism is inferior to capitalism. This is a misconception.

Which is good, socialism or capitalism? This should be judged by the nature of social systems.

1. Based on public ownership of the means of production, the socialist system has eliminated all exploiting systems and classes. Under the socialist system, the laboring people become the masters of the means of production and the country. This cannot be attained under the capitalist

system. When friends from capitalist countries come to China, they get a very deep impression; that is, although our living standard is fairly low, our life is secure and there is not a wide gap between the billionaires and the poor laborers as exists in the capitalist society. This displays the superiority of public ownership.

In the socialist society there is also the difference between labor remuneration and living standard, but this is caused by the difference in labor quantity and quality as well as by the number of people to be supported in a family, and is completely incomparable to the wide gap between the capitalists and the workers. We oppose personal privileges and the practice of taking advantage of one's power to seek personal gain because our society is based on public ownership of the means of production and all of us are equal in this respect. Under the capitalist system the means of production personally belong to the capitalists and seeking personal gain is their objective. Can the laborers interfere with the capitalists when they wallow in luxury and pleasure, rob others by force or trickery, and do as they please?

With respect to labor remuneration, our chief shortcomings are still the practice of "everybody eating from the same big pot" and egalitarianism. Since the implementation of the system of contracted responsibilities with payment linked to output in the rural collective economy, these shortcomings have been basically corrected. In the state sector of the economy, some changes have taken place, but fundamental changes are yet to be made. Therefore, it is still necessary to continuously reform the salary system. The reform is aimed at implementing the principle of distribution according to work in a more satisfactory way and bringing into full play the initiative of the vast numbers of workers and staff members.

2. Our national economy develops proportionally and in a planned way. We satisfy the growing needs of the people on the basis of increased production. There are not contradictions leading to periodic economic crises. These can neither be attained under the capitalist system.

The capitalist economy also has its own prosperous years, but the prosperity carries crisis within itself. Capitalism enjoyed a brief period of prosperity after World War I and a few bourgeois scholars advocated for a time that there would be no more crises. Just as the bourgeoisie were being carried away, the major crisis of 1929-1933 suddenly occurred. This crisis fully exposed the chronic malady of the capitalist system so that quite a few people with foresight took a skeptical attitude toward its future. In 1920, the British writer H. G. Wells paid a visit to Russia. At that time he did not believe in the Russian state electrification plan drawn up under the auspices of Lenin. He said: "Lenin, this genuine Marxist, outargued all 'utopian socialists' but finally he also degenerated into utopia--electrification utopia." (H. G. Wells: "The Russian Riddle," Joint Publishing Company, p 64) But when he again visited the Soviet Union in 1934, he changed his views. He said to Stalin: "My visit to the United States has given me an extremely strong impression. The old financial circle is crumbling and economic life throughout the country is undergoing

transformation in a new way. Lenin said many years ago that it was necessary to 'learn to do business' and to learn this from capitalists. Now the capitalists should learn from you in order to understand the socialist spirit." ("Selected Works of Stalin," Vol 2, p 351) Some of Wells' ideas were impractical and Stalin criticized him for this. But this honest writer really noticed that the socialist system is superior to the capitalist system. Although such crises as happened in the 1930's have not occurred since World War II, crises have constantly occurred. Since the 1970's, the United States has constantly been in an irretrievable situation of "stagnation" and the prospects for the 1980's have not been so bright. In our country, however, the economy has developed very rapidly since the founding of the PRC. We have resolutely corrected "leftist" errors and, under the guidance of the principle of readjustment, restructuring, consolidation, and improvement, the national economy has speedily embarked on the path of sound development. The situation is getting better yearly. In 1983 we fulfilled 2 years ahead of schedule the target for the gross annual value of industrial and agricultural production set down in the Sixth 5-Year Plan. A few wise politicians in the capitalist countries have noted this and made realistic appraisals. In the eyes of the people throughout the world, China's socialist system has shone again with new splendor.

China's economy and culture are still fairly backward at the moment but this has not been caused by the socialist system. Fundamentally speaking, it has been caused by history before liberation and by imperialism and feudalism. The socialist system has opened up a broad prospect for the development of the productive forces in our country. Judging from the average annual growth of industry and agriculture, our growth in the past 3 decades and more has been higher than that of almost all developed capitalist countries. The problem is that we started too late. Although we have developed swiftly, it still takes some time to catch up with and surpass them.

Some people are keen on comparing our life with that in the capitalist countries, and they even look forward to the life there. Indeed, the living standard in the developed capitalist countries is higher than ours, but we should analyze this: 1) There is a great disparity in the living standard of the people in the capitalist countries. Only a small number of people have a genuinely high living standard, while the living standard of the majority of laborers is not as high as some people have imagined. There are still a large number of unemployed and the poor who live in hunger and cold; 2) some things we regard as the means of enjoyment are the means of subsistence in certain countries, and the improvement of the living standard of laborers does not exceed the value of their labor; 3) they have higher salaries, but their expenses, such as commodity prices, tax payment, and rent, are also higher. In addition, there is also the threat of unemployment. This makes their life very unsecure. Although the level of our income is low, the amount of various allowances is large and the charges for various other things are much lower than in the capitalist countries. Therefore, our life is secure. Moreover, since the aim of production is to meet the growing needs of the people and not to seek profit for the capitalists, the living standard of the laboring people is bound to continuously improve as long as production develops.

What we mention above refers to material life. With respect to spiritual life, the socialist system is incomparably superior to the capitalist system. Under the socialist economic base, "the people of our country can have common political, economic, and social ideals and common moral standards." ("Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping," p 153) This is totally unattainable under the capitalist system. In the capitalist society, the relationship between man and man is one between the exploiter and the exploited and money is everything. Not long ago a Chinese youth who went to the Western world to look for "paradise" committed suicide. In his will he wrote: "This world is a place where good people are bullied and bad people are in power" and "the relationship between one person and another is one of intrigue against each other and it is complicated and corrupt to the extreme." As a matter of fact, his experience was penetratingly analyzed in works of Marx and Lenin long ago and exposed most tellingly in innumerable works of Western writers. It was lamentable that he did not believe these truths and, when he did discover these truths, it was too late.

Naturally, this does not mean that everything in our country is quite satisfactory. Comrade Mao Zedong said: "The establishment of our socialist system has opened the road leading to the ideal society of the future, but to translate this ideal into reality requires hard work." ("On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People") That is to say, the socialist system has created only the conditions for building a high degree of material and spiritual civilization and we still rely on all members of the society to make more contributions to the society in order to realize this objective. At the present stage it is necessary for us to concentrate our main energy on economic construction and to strive to achieve socialist modernization with one heart and one mind.

The socialist system is a newborn social system. It still needs some time to display its superiority to the full. However, we are optimistic and full of confidence about our future.

CSO: 4004/78

GREAT ACHIEVEMENTS IN ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT IN THE 35 YEARS  
FOLLOWING THE FOUNDING OF THE PRC (STATISTICAL DATA)

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 10, 16 May 84 p 44

[Article by the State Statistical Bureau; passages within slantlines published in boldface]

[Text] The Situation in the Development of People's Material and Cultural Life

Average annual growth (%)  
(figures in parentheses actual  
growth after deduction of  
price factors)

	Absolute figures (yuan)			In 21 years from 1958 to 1978	In 5 years from 1979 to 1983
	1957	1978	1983		
Nationwide residents' consumption	102	175	288	2.6 (1.8)	10.5 (7.2)
Average per capita net income of peasants' families*	73	134	310	2.9	18.3 (12.8)
Average per capita income of workers' families that is available for use as living expenses*	235	316	526	1.4 (0.8)	10.7 (7.4)
Workers' average wages (units under the ownership by the whole people)	635	644	865	0.1 (-0.6)	6.1 (2.8)

\* Based on sampling investigations.

	<u>Unit</u>	<u>1957</u>	<u>1978</u>	<u>1983</u>
<i>/Housing:/</i>				
Per capita living space:				
Towns and cities*	Square meter		4.2	5.9
Rural areas*	Square meter		8.1	11.6
<i>/Bank Savings:/</i>				
Year-end per capita savings balance	Yuan	5.4	21.9	87.5
<i>/Transportation:/</i>				
Bicycles per 100 persons	Unit		7.7	15.4
Number of buses per 10,000 urban population	Unit	1.0	3.3	3.8
<i>/Culture:/</i>				
TV sets per 100 persons	Set		0.3	3.5
Radios possessed per 100 persons	Set		7.8	20.9
Newspapers per 100 persons per day	Piece	1.0	3.2	4.2
Books and magazines per capita per year	Volume	2.5	4.8	7.4
<i>/Education:/</i>				
Number of students at all levels per 10,000 persons	Person	1,111	2,228	1,975 <sup>1</sup>
Number of college students per 10,000 persons	Person	6.8	8.9	11.8
<i>/Health:/</i>				
Hospital beds per 10,000 persons	Unit	4.6	19.4	20.7
Number of doctors per 10,000 persons	Person	8.4	10.8	13.3
<i>/Employment:/</i>				
Number of persons supported by each worker in cities and towns*	Person	3.29	2.06	1.71
Number of persons supported by each agricultural laborer*	Person	2.08	2.53	1.91
<i>/Commercial Outlets:/<sup>2</sup></i>				
Number of networks and points for per 10,000 persons	Unit	42	13	64
Number of staff for per 10,000 persons	Person	118	63	163

Notes: 1) Including adult education.  
 2) Including retail commerce, catering, and service trades in various economic forms.  
 \* Based on sampling investigations.

ON 'I FEEL FINE'

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 10, 16 May 84 pp 45-46

[Article by Jin Xiguang]

[Text] Everyone has said that the current party rectification is imperative. And in discussing this rectification, they have cited examples to show the necessity of rectification, which no one has ever opposed. But when they are talking about themselves, not all of them feel the necessity for rectification. Some comrades have thought to themselves "I feel fine" because they feel that they did not engage in corruption, they are not degenerate, did not seek private interest by using their positions, did not oppose the party line nor belong to the "people of three categories." Thus, they feel that they do not have problems and they consequently take an attitude of indifference toward party rectification. Such an attitude shows that these comrades have not really understood the necessity for party rectification.

Of course, it is imperative that during the party rectification, party members must evaluate themselves on the basis of their own specific conditions. The "leftist" exaggeration of denying any merit, raising things to the higher plane of principle, describing ordinary problems as serious problems and arbitrarily "labeling" oneself, must be prevented and overcome. But the attitude of describing oneself as absolutely pure and consoling oneself by saying "I feel fine" as well as considering that one has nothing to be "rectified" is not based on reality and therefore this attitude must also be prevented and overcome.

"I feel fine" may be right when it refers to the physical condition, but when it refers to the ideological situation, it is quite possible that it represents a malady. Because frequently, such thinking is considerably blind. If we treat party rectification with this attitude, there will be no way for us to actively and consciously take part in this rectification. There is also no doubt that with this attitude, we will not be able to concentrate our efforts on studying the documents on party rectification; nor will we be able to honestly listen to the opinions of the masses. And under this condition, it is impossible for us to conscientiously check ourselves. In the words of those working in the film and opera circles, this attitude means failure in playing the "role" well. Actors and actresses will not be able to perform well when they are not in a position to successfully play

their "roles." Similarly, when party members have failed to play their "roles" well in party rectification, it is only natural that they will not be able to correct their bad style of thinking.

A party member cannot correctly judge his ideological and political quality by solely relying on his "feelings." That is to say, his ideological and political quality must be checked through his own effort in meticulously analyzing his previous deeds and through the "feelings" of party organizations, other party members, and the masses toward his deeds. It is imperative to point out here that some comrades with the attitude of "I feel fine" in fact have not conscientiously checked their own deeds, nor have they honestly listened to the opinions of others. Therefore such feelings are very far from being in line with reality. In fact, these comrades have considerable shortcomings, and we cannot say that the traces of the unhealthy practices of seeking private interest through power and bureaucratism cannot be found among them. The question is that they have failed to see such shortcomings or they do not want to face them or they have intentionally denied the existence of these shortcomings. Some have considered their shortcomings as advantages, regarded what is erroneous as being correct, and regarded their thinking, which is yet to be emancipated or which is wrong, as representing their persistence in the four basic principles. They have also regarded principles and policies that have deviated from the CPC Central Committee as being unanimous with this committee. Such contradictions between reality and self-assessment show that it is imperative for the comrades who have said "I feel fine" to correct their thinking during party rectification.

We must acknowledge that some comrades who say "I feel fine" do not have serious problems and they have behaved quite well in the past. The question is which criterion should be used in making demands on ourselves. If these comrades are able to make self-criticism, measure themselves against the criterion for party members, consider the interest of the whole and put themselves under the new situation, they will find their deficiencies. At least they will find that the "I feel fine" attitude represents a complacency that will consequently hinder them from making progress.

The "I-feel-fine" attitude is subjective. And frequently, subjective things are unreliable. An old saying goes: "There is no absolutely pure gold and no man who is perfect in every way." Similarly, everyone has his own weaknesses and shortcomings. And in particular, can those of us who have experienced the 10 turbulent years, say that we have not been influenced by this turbulence and therefore it is unnecessary for us to cleanse our thinking? In addition, we must also understand that we are living in a complicated society that is subject to the influence of various forms of bourgeois ideology and the ideology of other exploiting classes. So, can we say that we have not been influenced by the dust of such ideology and therefore it is not necessary for us to sweep the dust? In particular, we are now facing the glorious and yet arduous task of creating a new situation for the realization of the socialist modernization program. Therefore, who dares, under this condition, to say that his ideological level, knowledge, and capability are sufficient to fulfill his tasks and therefore it is

unnecessary for him to make further improvement? The nature of communists should be that they must dare to fight against bad persons, bad things, and all bad tendencies. Are we up to this requirement? Who can guarantee that we do not have the thinking of liberalism and of "benign and uncontentious persons who are indifferent to matters of principle" and therefore it is unnecessary to examine our thinking? All of the comrades who are in the situation of "I feel fine" must in no way become conceited; nor must they be deceived by feelings which are not quite correct or else we will lose the chance of reforming ourselves. These comrades must get rid of the "I-feel-fine" attitude and be active in taking part in party rectification so that they will have the chance to train themselves.

Taken as a whole, the majority of party members are good and relatively good. Those with serious problems are limited in number while those who belonged to the "people of three categories" are few. But the purpose of the party rectification this time is not only to solve the problems of the minority and the few but also to strengthen the party spirit of the majority. Therefore, party members must in no way consider party rectification as having no connection with them; nor must they be indifferent toward the party. They must strictly analyze themselves, conscientiously check their thinking and take an active part in launching criticism and self-criticism. The late Comrade Xie Juezai regarded self-criticism as "engaging in a lawsuit against oneself." He was merciless toward his mistakes. He also regarded himself as "the defendant," "the attorney" and "the judge." During party rectification, we must learn from the spirit of veteran proletarian revolutionaries, which is characterized by strictly abiding by discipline. That is to say, we must also strictly launch self—"interrogation" and "pronounce judgments" in front of the masses and solicit their opinions. This practice is beneficial for us communists in maintaining the advanced nature of the proletariat and the purity of communism.

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GUIDANCE MATERIALS FOR THE STUDY OF THE 'SELECTED WORKS OF CHEN YUN'

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 10, 16 May 84 p 46

[RED FLAG Publishing House Subscription Notice]

[Text] In order to coordinate with party rectification and help the broad masses of party members, cadres, and the masses of people profoundly study and grasp the spirit of the "Selected Works of Chen Yun," RED FLAG Publishing House will publish "Guidance Materials for the Study of the 'Selected Works of Chen Yun'" in August this year. This book has been compiled by the Editorial Department of the journal LILUN YU SHIJIAN [THEORY AND PRACTICE] of Liaoning Province. Some theoretical workers in Beijing and Liaoning have written articles for the book which is about 200,000 characters long. The contents of this book include a general introduction and an introduction to special and other articles. The price is .78 yuan.

The book will be distributed by the Publishing House of the LILUN YU SHIJIAN of Liaoning Provincial CPC Committee.

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## RANDOM TALK ON THE LENGTH OF ARTICLES

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 10, 16 May 84 pp 47-48

[Article by Jian Tang [7003 1016]]

[Text] A number of people have appealed to writers over many years past to write short articles and I have no doubt that I agree with this opinion. People no doubt always welcome reading materials that are short and simple. In particular, people who are living in the era of realization of the modernization program have found that their time is precious and therefore they welcome concise articles all the more. What are the criteria for the length of articles? I can put forward specific ideas on this issue.

Normally speaking, the form of an article is determined by its contents. Articles with different contents need different forms of writing and different lengths. Marx said in the preface to the second edition of "Das Kapital": "The form of the narrative method must be different from the form of the research method." ("Das Kapital," Vol 1, p 23) If the contents of an article concern study of knowledge that is yet to be grasped by mankind or that has not been understood in an overall way and profoundly, that article must be in a position not only to correct the previous erroneous understanding but also to discover, invent, create, and advance. Under this condition, it is only natural to resort to the research method in writing such an article. It means that first of all, it is imperative to collect enormous amounts of reference material that has to be concisely compared and analyzed so as to study the contradictions and changes in the development of the subject, to expound the essence of the subject and the laws of its movement. The final conclusion of the article is relatively simple, but such a conclusion represents a scientific achievement that has already been proven in various aspects. Reading material with such contents can only be longer, and may even be compiled into several volumes. For example, through the theory of surplus value expounded in "Das Kapital," Marx was able to expose the secret of the exploitation of wage labor. Bourgeois economists had failed to understand this secret for as long as 300 years. But would it have been possible if Marx had not collected enormous quantities of investigation reports made by factory inspectors, members of commissions on various subjects, and officials, and analyzed and expounded these reference materials? Would it be possible to expose the crimes of capitalism and state with certainty that capitalist society is bound to be

eliminated if there were no theory of surplus value? How could Marxism have firmly maintained its scientific power, in spite of countless theoretical attacks from its enemies during its history, without the unremitting efforts of Marx and Engels? Can we blame the three volumes of "Das Kapital," which are characterized by convincing scientific achievements, for being too long and loaded with trivial details? For us, to introduce or use the theory of surplus value is simple, because we can easily do so by way of resorting to Marx' study results, using the narrative method. In this aspect, the characters used may be very simple; but Marxist viewpoints can be resorted to in a simple way to serve the interests of mankind.

This situation is the same not only for social science but also for natural science. For example, all the basic knowledge of natural science in secondary school textbooks has been refined from the achievements of research and study. For example, particular chemical equations and physical theorems are all based on countless tests by many scientists. And the formulas and geometrical theorems in elementary mathematics and even the simple figure for the ratio of the circumference of a circle to its diameter, that is used in mathematics in primary schools, represent the results of millions of mathematical calculations by many mathematicians. In biology, the book "Origin of Species" was written by Darwin after many years of hard work, including the collection of enormous numbers of specimens of ancient animals and plants and meticulous comparisons of and inference from each organ of various specimens. It is because of such efforts that Darwin finally produced the theory of evolution, to expose the origin of living things and the secret of evolution. Such basic knowledge of natural science is very brief when it appears in textbooks and it is regarded as a common thing as we use it in our daily lives. But compared with the knowledge in textbooks, the reports on the related experiments and research theses by scientists concerning this knowledge contain many, many more words. Therefore, in this aspect, who will blame such reports and theses for being too long and stuffed with trivial details? At present, some magazines (particularly academic magazines and those specializing in carrying research and study articles) have restricted the length of articles. This means that decisions by these magazines to carry or not to carry certain articles depends on the length, and not on the contents, of these articles. This practice of determining contents by form is irrational.

Conversely, the content of enormous articles (with the exception of literary works) that we come across in our daily lives do not concern the study of knowledge that is yet to be exploited by mankind. These articles just represent the use of knowledge we have already grasped. Articles about summing up work and experiences, directives, proposals, assignment of tasks, explanation of policies and analyses of current affairs are all written using the narrative method. In introducing various knowledge, the contents of this knowledge are also explained through the narrative method and the contents of the articles concerned must clearly be short and simple, so that people will easily understand. If such articles are too long and stuffed with trivial details, it will be difficult for readers to understand and they may as well stop reading the articles. During busy

working hours in particular, people will have no patience to read such articles or they may refuse to read them. In this way, the purpose of writing these articles can in no way be attained. Of course, to write short and simple articles does in no way mean to write carelessly and superficially and in simple and crude way. Simple and good articles can only be written under correct ideological and theoretical guidance and on the basis of rich and practical experiences; otherwise, the articles will be subjective, fabricated, and written with a viewpoint of apriorism. Ordinary reading material and articles introducing and explaining particular topics must also be short in form but they must be based on the knowledge that has already been grasped by mankind and generally acknowledged, so that although the exposition is brief, it is correct. Therefore it is not easy to write good and short articles. For example, the "Declaration of Human Rights" and the "Manifesto of the Communist Party" are short and simple, they are easy to read and they have strong appeal. The former concentrates the thinking of the predecessors of the proletariat and the latter summarizes the basic points of view of Marx and Engels.

The above explanation is a rough one. The length of articles is determined not only by differences in the contents, in the sense of whether these contents are of a narrative type or about study, but also by the breadth of the topics and the ease and the skill of the writer.

In fact, the value of an article is not determined by its length but by its quality. Some articles about summing up experience and work, guidance and explanation that are written using the narrative method may have very high scientific value if these articles have significant contents, coupled with enlightenment and prediction. Some scientific theses that are written using the research and study method will have no value, no matter whether they are long or short, as long as they are based on imprecise reference materials, loose inferences, and points of view that have not been affirmed, and they may come to incorrect conclusions. Although the topics of these materials also use the words "study" and "investigation," their contents neither reveal new achievements nor provide new reference material. These articles are just stuffed with piles of words, without mentioning sources. Such articles are tediously long and they are boring.

In fact, all articles and works can be written shorter and more concisely. It is told that in ancient China, an article, "History by Mr Lu," was once hung outside a gate, and anyone who could shorten this article would be offered gold; but none could reduce it by even a single character. It was quite possible that no reader dared offend the writer, who was a minister. Is it not possible for our articles today to have certain unnecessary characters deleted? Cannot certain decoration and unnecessary characters be deleted? Cannot study theses exclude material with basically the same content and certain quotations from classical writers that have no relation to the subject of the study and that are already known to the public, particularly exaggerative characters that will only spoil the nature of science?

In short, brief articles are easy to understand and are welcomed by readers. Let us proceed from reality and write more precise articles, with their lengths determined by their contents and quality.

## SEEKING THE NEW AND SEEKING TRUTH

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 10, 16 May 84 inside back cover

[Article by Li Fan [2621 0416]]

[Text] In theoretical research, many young comrades have shown courage in probing and bold innovation, thereby reflecting the new character of China's present-day frontline of ideological theory. "Culture changes with the times, there are new innovations every day." Economic and cultural development in China is taking place daily and new situations and new facts are constantly emerging. As the construction of the four modernizations advances, new questions are constantly being researched and new explanations are being thrown up, thus opening up new fields of knowledge. All of this encompasses the glorious duties of theoretical workers.

The characteristics of young people are a richness of vitality and a keen sensitivity. If we add to this solid research work, then some innovations are entirely feasible, and indeed some comrades have already made considerable individual contributions. However, some comrades are still rather blind as far as "seeking the new" is concerned. For example, in order to defeat opponents and surprise everyone, some people rashly express their comments and findings on the basis of insufficient research. They write "reverse verdict" articles and indiscriminately make use of foreign works to pander to "new trends."

What is "new"? Acclaim from others does not necessarily mean that something is "new." Only those new concepts and views which come from practice and which can stand the test of practice can be recognized by society and history and can then be termed as "seeking the new." Theoretical innovation can in no way depart from social practice. The starting point for us in seeking the new is to achieve and maintain close links and serve the struggle for the realization of socialism. The expression of any new belief or new explanation should be the result of exhaustive examination of relevant materials and analysis of various relevant viewpoints. We cannot simply rely on taking things for granted, nor simply on logical inference. We must do as Engels said and rely on large amounts of historical material which have been critically investigated and fully grasped. If we only move from book to book or start out from very inaccurate concepts which can be understood in a variety of ways, it is very easy to draw incorrect conclusions.

Similarly it will not do to go and probe and research some small area far from reality, simply for the sake of opening up a little known field of study.

Real "seeking the new" requires steadfast and determined accumulation of knowledge over long periods of time. "Perseverance will prevail and constant effort yields sure success." If one simply follows the trends, then not only can there be no new explanations, it also demonstrates an attitude of irresponsibility toward the people and, as everyone knows, we write articles for the masses to read! Tolstoy once said: "When you have some well-intended or innovative words to utter, and when what you utter will really enrich mankind and is really needed by the millions of working people, then, and only then should you write it." Marx said if we do not give the working class the very best of things, it is criminal. It is this spirit of great responsibility toward society and toward the people, this spirit of burning one's own life to throw a little light on human wisdom which has ensured that all the world's great scholars from ancient times to today have left traces in history of their own special innovative character.

"Five hundred years of new ideas will not last 1,000 years." Theoretical work is an undertaking or a cause which eternally satisfies new seeking and new probing. However, only those who seek the new with the spirit of seeking truth and only those with a high sense of social responsibility and lofty sentiments can make the contributions they should without failing the demands of the times.

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REVIEW OF 'THE HISTORY OF SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT'

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["Book review" by Wu Shulin [6762 2579 2651]]

[Text] One of the keys to success in writing popular works on political theory is the ability to make such writing accurately and clearly explain complex theoretical ideas by using simple language that is easy to understand. "The History of Social Development," edited [zhu bian 0031 4882] by Comrade Tao Dayong and published by the People's Publishing House, manages to achieve this fairly successfully. The book's main characteristics are:

1. A clear presentation of ideas and a richness of new ideas. On the basis of the fundamental principles of historical materialism, the author has got grips with the main theme of the contradiction between the forces of production and the relations of production. He has drawn on the new results of social scientific research over recent years and has, in a simple way and based on the ideological reality of the people, expounded the complex developmental process of human society from its lowest level to its highest, thereby proving the objective laws for the inevitable appearance of communism.

The author explains some questions relating to the origins of mankind, such as the difference between the various mystical imaginings which grew up during the early period of mankind and the later mystical fabrications of the reactionary ruling classes used to suppress and deceive the people. The author also recounts the historical contributions of Darwin's theory of evolution. It lays particular emphasis on introducing Engels' scientific theory concerning the creation of man through labor. It explains how, as the productive forces develop, this inevitably produces changes in the relations of production, as well as the law relating to changes in the form of human society. He evaluates the historical roles of the various social formations that have existed and eulogizes the glorious role of the people in the creation of history.

This book has overcome the tendency of previous books dealing with the history of social development, which only concentrate on the history of Europe and Asia, in that it pays attention to drawing on new material from

all parts of the world, with the result that the views expressed in the book take on a greater universal significance. At the same time the author has made a special point of noting the contributions of the Chinese people to world civilization, thereby injecting some patriotic education into the book.

2. The language is moving and there is effective use of quotations and other evidence. When the author explains the basic views of historical materialism he does not draw on long quotations from original classic sources, nor does he only discuss a few dull and dry theories. Instead he uses moving language and clear facts to explain his reasoning. The relatively few quotes from Marx and Engels add the finishing touches. For example, when the author is discussing primitive capitalist accumulation, he uses the title "History Written in Blood and Fire" and describes how the capitalist powers brutally slaughtered the small and weak nations, and thus he exposes the ferocious features of capital, covered from head to foot with blood, and clarifies the process of primitive capital accumulation.

3. The author integrates historical theories and pays attention to facts. This book objectively explains the influence of the new technological revolution on the capitalist world and scientifically explains how Lenin's theories on the nature of imperialism are still valid, as well as proving the superiority of the socialist system and helping the reader to strengthen his communist convictions. In his handling of the destruction wrought during the 10 years of turmoil, the author takes note of the theoretical restoration of order out of chaos and the restoration of the original face of scientific socialism. He also proves the accuracy of all the various policies and principles since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee from the angle of the history of social development.

Many readers have said that by reading this book they have been able to expand their knowledge and that it has been useful in studying philosophy, political economics, and scientific socialism.

As a popular book on political theory, this book does tend to be a little on the long side. Furthermore, the author could have discussed in further detail the relationship between the twisting and diverse nature of socio-historical development and the overall trends of sociohistorical development, thus making this book even better.

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